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COVER

The commissary depot at Hamburg, Tennessee. From *Harper's Weekly*, May 31, 1862.

THE DECLINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN IOWA, 1850-1860

By David S. Sparks*

The political revolution of the 1850's in the United States has very properly attracted long and serious study by historians. The death of the Whig party, the division of the Democratic party, and the birth of the Republican party certainly prepared the way for the greatest crisis in their history, as Americans tried to settle by armed force what they had been unable to solve by the art of politics.

Political developments in Iowa during the critical decade following 1850 were of much the same pattern as in all the states of the Old Northwest. Originally Democratic as a result of the party preferences of the first settlers, Iowa soon contained a lively Whig opposition. While the two parties shared town and county offices throughout the state, the Democrats managed to keep control of the constitutional conventions of 1844 and 1846 as well as the territorial and early state legislatures and the executive offices. Iowa Whigs shared the national experience of their party and gradually died out after the presidential campaign of 1852. The Democrats held on a little longer and despite defeat in 1854 managed to remain an organized opposition until the Civil War reduced them to a corporal's guard. Although the Republicans first campaigned as such in 1856, all those elements later making up the party had previously worked together to elect James W. Grimes on an "Opposition" ticket in 1854.

Most studies of Iowa politics during the 1850's have quite naturally concentrated on the Republicans.¹ These studies have carefully detailed Re-

*David S. Sparks is assistant professor of history at the University of Maryland.

¹ Louis Pelzer, "The Origin and Organization of the Republican Party in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 4:487-526 (October, 1906); Frank I. Herriott, "A Neglected Factor in the Anti-Slavery Triumph in Iowa in 1854," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 18-19:174-335 (1918-1919); Frank I. Herriott, *Iowa and Abraham Lincoln* (Des Moines, 1911); Kenneth F. Millsap, "The Election of 1860 in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:97-120 (April, 1950); David S. Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848-1860" (Ph.D. thesis, unpublished, University of Chicago, 1951); Edward Younger, "The Rise of John A. Kasson in Iowa Politics, 1857-1859," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:289-314 (October, 1952).

publican interest in halting the expansion of slavery. They have examined Republican promises for free land, higher tariffs, and a Pacific railroad. They have analyzed Republican leadership, party conventions, campaign strategy, and the party's fate at the polls. Much has been learned about the methods and objectives of Iowa politicians and their supporters during a very critical period. In one respect, however, our understanding of this vital time in Iowa politics remains quite deficient. In concentrating on the positive story of the rise of the Republicans, historians have failed to explore the negative side of the story — that is, the decline of the Democrats in Iowa during the 1850's. Is it not as pertinent to question why men abandoned their earlier allegiance to the Democrats as it is to ask why they turned to the Republicans? Certainly it is true that many Iowans looked upon a vote for the Republican party during the 1850's as no more than a protest against their own Democratic leadership. To a surprising degree the Republican party of the 1850's in Iowa was a temporary refuge for men whose political roofs had fallen down around their ears. It is clear that a thorough understanding of the birth of the Republican party is dependent upon some understanding of the division and decline of the Iowa Democrats which took place in the decade of the 1850's.

The defeat of the national Democratic party has usually provided the chronology and pattern for the brief examinations which the state parties have received. In this process considerable attention has been given to the effects of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, "Bleeding Kansas," the Lecompton Constitution, and the Dred Scott Decision, and, as a result, Democratic decline and defeat is usually dated from 1854. Professor Nichols' brilliant study² of the disruption of the national Democratic party begins only in 1856. For Iowa, at least, such emphasis and chronology are misleading. By accepting the national story as the matrix for the Iowa pattern, we distort the early history of the Republicans and the reasons for their success as well as the causes for the "disruption" of the Democratic party in Iowa.

A close examination of the Democratic party in Iowa shows a party so seriously torn by factionalism and so thoroughly at odds with the national party leadership that it was on the verge of collapse before 1854. The party press, county and state conventions, and most of the party leadership were regularly divided into two or more warring camps. Even in the halcyon days between 1846 and 1850 factionalism was a serious problem. A

² Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948).

persisting conflict with the national party leadership revolved about the problems of slavery and the needs of the state for internal improvements, railroads, and homesteads. The significance of this story of the Iowa Democrats is that it pushes back in time the division and decline of the state organization. This, in turn, reduces the concentration on slavery as the question which destroyed the Democrats and places greater emphasis upon the more "normal" frictions within the party. If further study of the Democratic party in Iowa and in other states of the North tends to bear out the results of this brief review, then we must continue our revision of the causes of the political crisis of the 1850's and the Civil War that followed.

Iowa's first settlers were Democrats by a ratio of nearly two to one. Throughout the territorial period and during the first years of statehood the Democrats clearly controlled state politics. Both William W. Chapman and A. C. Dodge, delegates from the Territory of Iowa to the Congress from 1838 to 1846, were frontier Democrats. The territorial legislature was in Democratic hands, and the first state governors were Democrats. The constitutional convention of 1844 was made up of fifty-one Democrats and only twenty-one Whigs.³ A similar constitutional convention in 1846, with a total membership of thirty-two, contained twenty-two Democrats and ten Whigs.⁴ Iowa's first Senators were Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones who served in the Senate until 1855 and 1859 respectively, while one lonely Whig shared the honors with the Democrats, representing Iowa in the House of Representatives during the first seven years of statehood.⁵

The hegemony of the Democrats in the early political life of Iowa was the direct result of the way in which the land was settled. The earliest settlers came into Iowa from the south by way of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. This stream of migration flowed into Iowa and spread out along the Missouri border, into the Des Moines River Valley, or on up the Mississippi. As in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois,⁶ the new settlers from the

³ Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *The Constitutions of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1934), 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁵ The Whig was Daniel F. Miller who only won his seat after a congressional investigation ordered a special election to resolve the issue. See Louis B. Schmidt, "The Miller-Thompson Election Contest," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 12:34-127 (January, 1914).

⁶ David Henry Bradford, "The Background and Formation of the Republican Party in Ohio, 1844-1861" (Ph.D. thesis, unpublished, University of Chicago, 1947); Roger Van Bolt, "Sectional Aspects of Expansionism, 1844-58," *Indiana Magazine of*

South were Democrats of the Jackson and Benton stamp. They had left behind them the landed gentry who owned slaves, filled the political offices, and who called themselves "broadcloth Whigs." Preferring woodland to the open prairie, these southern settlers took up land in the southern tiers of counties, on both sides of the Des Moines River, and up the Mississippi wherever woodland was to be found. The loyalty of these folk to the Democratic party was so strong that even the overwhelming popularity of Lincoln in 1860 did not win over Lee and Dubuque counties on the Mississippi; Davis, Appanoose, Wayne, and Decatur in the southern tier; or Wapello, Marion, and Boone in the Des Moines River Valley.

Iowa's early Democratic leaders came from among these southern settlers. Both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate there were to be found Iowans who were tied to the South by birth, education, or tradition. The father of Senator A. C. Dodge brought his slaves along with him when he migrated from Missouri to Wisconsin. Young Augustus was raised by a Negro mammy in the best tradition of the South.⁷ Senator George W. Jones was bound to the South by ties which even the Civil War did not break. Born in old Vincennes, Jones was raised in Indiana. When he entered Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1821, Jones carried a letter of introduction to Henry Clay. Years later, in an eulogy to Clay, Jones harked back to his own youth and told how Clay was "the guardian and director of my collegiate days; four of his sons were my college mates and warm friends. My intercourse with the father was that of a youth and a friendly advisor."⁸ During his college days Jones was also close to Jefferson Davis and to David Atchison, the "Hotspur" of the proslavery forces in Missouri. It was a letter from Jones to the President of the Confederacy in 1861 which led Lincoln's Secretary of State to order the imprisonment of Jones in December, 1861. Jones's Southern sympathies cost him several very uncomfortable months in a Northern prison, but even Secretary Seward could not prevent Jones's two sons from joining the Confederate service.⁹

History, 48:119-40 (June, 1952); John S. Wright, "The Background and Formation of the Republican Party in Illinois, 1846-1860" (Ph.D. thesis, unpublished, University of Chicago, 1946).

⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess. (1853-1854), Appendix, 381.

⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess. (1851-1852), 1638. For biography of A. C. Dodge, see Louis Pelzer, *Augustus Caesar Dodge* (Iowa City, 1908).

⁹ John C. Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City, 1912), 62.

The history of the Democratic party in Iowa prior to the Civil War is one of crumbling hegemony in which dissension led to division and defeat. One major source of Democratic difficulties was a growing divergence between the needs of the local party and the demands of the national party leadership. From the day that Iowa had entered the Union there had been signs that the local Democracy would find it difficult to support wholeheartedly the national platform. Even the large measure of agreement between the two on the issues of slavery and the status of the Negro in national life was sometimes threatened. Most Iowa Democrats were anti-Negro, indifferent to slavery in the South, and opposed to the entry of either into Iowa or the territories to the west. Most local party chieftains shared the national party's hope that slavery would never become an issue in national politics, but dissent cropped up even on this subject. The Germans, Dutch, English, and Scandinavians who came into Iowa in the 1850's regularly joined the Democratic party and just as regularly were openly hostile to the institution of slavery. They were not abolitionists but they were unwilling to see it spread.

Second only to slavery in the politics of the day was the issue of expansion. Iowa was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Manifest Destiny. To most Iowans it mattered little whether settlers expanded north, west, or south, so long as territory was added to the national domain. Further, the enthusiasm of Iowans for the Mexican War indicated that they cared little whether it was peaceful expansion or conquest. Although President Polk's decision for war against Mexico was widely applauded, most Iowans soon were sorry that Polk had not lived up to his brave campaign slogan of "54° 40' or Fight" and had negotiated instead a settlement with the British in Oregon.

There can be little doubt that much of the early success of the Democratic party in Iowa was the result of its devotion to expansion. Unfortunately the Democratic advantage was soon neutralized by the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso in 1846, forcing the Democrats to take a stand on slavery whenever they tried to make political capital out of expansion. After the introduction of the famous Proviso, Iowa Democrats had either to advocate slave expansion or the expansion of free soil and were denied the pure joy of supporting simple expansion without reference to slavery. The result was to divide the Democracy in Iowa. Before the ink was dry on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo one faction of the party was ready to

repudiate the administration if any further expansion of slave territory resulted from the defeat of the Mexicans. The possibility of demanding an indemnity of Mexico and taking part of her northern provinces as payment of such an indemnity provided grounds for further division in local Democratic ranks.¹⁰ Loyal party men stood helpless while the Democrats' political capital evaporated in the growing controversy over slavery.

Iowa Democrats labored under even greater difficulties in the matter of the party position on internal improvements at federal expense. The local organization made repeated efforts to follow eastern and southern leadership and oppose internal improvements, but the needs of a frontier state were much too insistent. The obvious necessity for transportation of all kinds forced Iowa Democrats to break away from the national party policy and seek federal aid for river improvements and land grants for railroads. Even before Iowa had been admitted to the Union, Delegate A. C. Dodge had succeeded in obtaining from Congress a grant whereby alternate sections of the public lands, forming a strip five miles wide on each side of the Des Moines River, were set aside to aid the Territory in improving the navigation of the stream. With admission to the Union, Iowa increased its demands for such aid. Democratic Representatives William Thompson and Shepherd Leffler tried hard to have the improvement of the Des Moines and Rock River rapids of the Mississippi River included in the rivers and harbors bills of 1846 and 1847. The fact that they were not successful did not make President Polk's vetoes of the two bills any more palatable to Iowa Democrats. All through the 1850's Democratic administrations in Washington were able to bring a few local Democrats to heel on the matter of internal improvements, but the overwhelming majority of the Iowa party was stubborn and steadfast in its approval of internal improvements at federal expense.

Finally, a fourth issue seriously dividing Iowa Democrats during the antebellum period was land. A grant of free land out of the tremendous reservoir of the public domain was the dream of every western settler. By 1846 the dream had taken concrete form in the demand for a homestead law which would grant free land to those who would settle upon it. Undeniably popular in Iowa, the homestead idea ran into considerable opposition in the East and the South. When the eastern and southern leadership of the Democratic party regularly pigeonholed the homestead bills intro-

¹⁰ Iowa City *Iowa Capital Reporter*, March 29, 1848.

duced into every Congress, Iowa Democrats could do little more than wring their hands and try to avoid the subject at home among their constituents.

The divisions in the Iowa Democracy over slavery, expansion, internal improvements, and land, as well as on several minor issues, were generally between two rather well-defined groups. One, usually labeled the "administration" group, followed the lead of George Wallace Jones in state politics. This group reached its peak of power under the Pierce administration. The other faction, the anti-administration Democrats, tended to follow the lead of Augustus Caesar Dodge, but his absence from the country as ambassador to Spain from 1855 to 1859 deprived this wing of the party of responsible leadership at the time it was most needed.

Genuine party politics came to Iowa in 1848. While politicians had been cutting their teeth on the preceding two-year struggle to elect United States Senators,¹¹ it was not until the first presidential election after statehood that all the platforms, conventions, and miscellaneous paraphernalia of a real campaign appeared in Iowa. The Democrats made a clean sweep of county, state, and congressional offices in the August election, and in November they carried the state for Cass in the presidential contest. The widespread rejoicing over the handsome victory was, of course, marred by the election of Taylor to the presidency, but there is little evidence that Iowa Democrats were much worried by the cracks which had appeared in the party armor during the canvass. The immense popularity of the Mexican War and the resulting land cessions had dictated party strategy. Democratic ownership of the Mexican War was defended against the Whig attempts to steal the credit. The Wilmot Proviso was castigated as a bald move to drag the issue of slavery into national politics, and Iowa Democrats were united in their belief that slavery was strictly a problem for the Southern states. A few editors shed a tear or two over the defection of Martin Van Buren, and at least one noted the danger to the Union involved in the Free Soil party, but most Iowa Democrats felt the local party was immune to the antislavery agitation of the Free Soilers. Van Buren was pictured as the candidate of a "long-heeled, wooly-headed, flat-nosed, run-away negro, mongrel whig disorganizing Convention!"¹²

¹¹ Dan Elbert Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 1-48.

¹² Iowa City *Iowa Capital Reporter*, July 19, 1848; Keokuk *Dispatch*, Sept. 2, 1848.

But the problem of internal improvements did give Iowa Democrats some trouble in 1848. Unable to sidetrack the issue they were forced to admit serious disagreement on the question. While President Polk had vetoed rivers and harbors bills in 1846 and again in 1847, Democrat William Thompson spoke for the majority of Iowa Democrats when he voted for the Petit resolution in the House repudiating the President's action.¹³ Indeed, scarcely more than six weeks after the veto message was published, Representative Thompson was back at the old stand pleading for either a land grant or a cash grant of \$50,000 from the federal government for the improvement of the upper Mississippi River. Even Whig editors sympathized with the local Democrats and admitted the futility of all efforts in the face of presidential vetoes.¹⁴ In the course of the campaign Democratic editors went so far as to fabricate a sympathy for internal improvements on the part of Lewis Cass out of his voting record in Congress. But this fell flat, for the Whigs recalled quite readily the way in which Cass had refused to identify himself with the great Rivers and Harbors Convention in Chicago the previous July.¹⁵ In the summer of 1848 the administration in Washington began to crack the party whip, for a few Democratic papers in Iowa reversed themselves and started to try to make a case for the Polk vetoes and the national party position on internal improvements. In such papers the President was pictured as the only barrier between a voracious East and a defenseless West, while the grants in rivers and harbors bills were likened to "a golden trumpet" for the East and a "tin whistle" for the West.¹⁶ At least one Iowa Democrat went so far as to echo Polk's constitutional doubts and, at the risk of being laughed out of the whole Northwest, called the bills "unjust to other portions of the Union" because they appropriated "more than Half a Million of dollars to the improvement of 'Harbors' on the Lakes which as 'ports of entry' have no existence save on paper. . . ."¹⁷ Fortunately for the local party, the campaign of 1848 was decided on the issues of expansion and slavery; on these the Democrats were united. Winning control of the state legislature in 1848 gave the Democrats the right to name two United States Senators. Such a handsome prize made the difficulties over internal improvements seem minor.

¹³ *Cong. Globe*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. (1847-1848), 59.

¹⁴ Fort Madison *Iowa Statesman*, Feb. 5, 1848.

¹⁵ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, June 23, 1848.

¹⁶ Burlington *Iowa State Gazette*, May 29, 1848.

¹⁷ Bloomington [Muscatine] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, July 15, 1848.

The year 1850 was a good one for Iowa Democrats. Alone among the states of the Northwest, Iowa had no avowed Free Soilers in either the state legislature or in Congress.¹⁸ In the gubernatorial contest Democrat Stephen Hempstead defeated Whig James Thompson by a comfortable margin. William Penn Clarke, the Free Soil candidate for governor, won only 575 votes out of a total of over 25,000. In congressional elections, too, the Democrats were victorious in both districts. This happy state of affairs largely resulted from the Democrats' firm support of the Compromise of 1850.

The efforts of Clay, Douglas, and Webster to find a method of keeping the question of slavery out of national politics were perfectly suited to the mood of Iowa Democrats. Just before the Clay resolutions were introduced in the Senate, the editor of the *Dubuque Miners' Express* was busy belaboring the Free Soil agitation of slavery so far from the home of the slave-owners.¹⁹ With the introduction of Clay's compromise resolutions the *Miners' Express* and all other Iowa Democrats were given a focus for their efforts to halt the agitation of the slavery question.²⁰

Meanwhile, in the Senate A. C. Dodge waded into the opponents of compromise:

. . . when I read these bitter animadversions from the North and East upon what I regard as the patriotic exertions of the venerable Senator from Kentucky to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and listen here to the merciless denunciations which both he and his resolutions receive from my friend from Mississippi, I could not but feel for the Senator from Kentucky a sympathy which nothing in his past history had awakened in me.²¹

At the same time, Jones busied himself introducing petitions and resolutions in favor of the Compromise. In July he reported that "in a large correspondence . . . equal, perhaps, to that of any member of Congress—I have received from my constituents and friends *not one* letter which takes ground against the compromise bill." Jones was expressing the heartfelt sentiments of all Iowa Democrats on the subject of slavery when he cried, "Would to God that this Congress could so elevate itself above the passions

¹⁸ Theodore C. Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York, 1897), 244.

¹⁹ *Dubuque Weekly Miners' Express*, Jan. 30, 1850.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1850.

²¹ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1849-1850), 404.

and prejudices of the day as forever to give the quietus to this distracting question!"²²

All through the summer of 1850 the Democrats of Iowa, following the lead of Dodge and Jones, pounded away at the need for concessions in order to preserve the Union. It was the spirit of the Wilmot Proviso which the Democrats had come to fear by 1850. Dodge called the Proviso "a mask from behind which abolition seeks to destroy the Constitution, and, as an inevitable result, the Union."²³ The party press, while admitting that some of the provisions of the Compromise were "not to our liking" (notably the new fugitive slave law), agreed that "every good citizen should overlook the little of evil that may result, and be satisfied with the vast amount of good to flow from a definite and permanent adjustment of questions which have always proved too much for American equanimity. . . ."²⁴

Iowans were content, regardless of party, to follow the Democratic lead in accepting the Compromise, for as Dodge said, they wanted "to get the subject from before" them. Undoubtedly they would have echoed his thoughts when he said: "I am sick, sore, and tired of it; and therefore, though this measure is one that does not please me in all its parts, I shall swallow it in order to get the subject out of the halls of Congress. . . ."²⁵ The feeling that slavery was a question like a time bomb which might blow up the party and the Union was as prevalent among Iowa Democrats as it was in Washington. Local party meetings and conventions adopted resolutions and planks like the one passed in the Second Congressional District maintaining that "the continued and prolonged excitement" had been "kept up on the subject of slavery by designing demagogues in Congress and elsewhere for selfish and interested motives. . . ."²⁶

But the prestige and power of the Iowa Democrats were greatly weakened in 1850 as a result of their acceptance of the fugitive slave law embodied in the Compromise. Both Dodge and Jones, in their efforts to win Southern support for the Compromise, had made statements which seemed a little strong to many of their Iowa constituents as well as to their enemies.

²² *Ibid.*, Appendix, 1716.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1085.

²⁴ Bloomington [Muscatine] *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, May 30, 1850.

²⁵ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1086.

²⁶ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, June 13, 1850.

The Senators tried to allay Southern suspicions of Iowa's sincerity in support of the Compromise. For his part, Jones reminded his Southern colleagues in the Senate of his long residence in slave states and charged that the evils which Free Soilers and abolitionists described in such lurid detail were a better reflection of their fanaticism than of actual conditions of slavery in the South.²⁷ Dodge felt constrained to read to the Senate a state law of Iowa which prohibited the entrance of free Negroes into the state except under a \$500 bond.²⁸ While such statements might serve to convince the South that a true compromise spirit prevailed in Iowa in 1850, they would live to haunt local Democrats for years to come.

Whatever the future might bring, the present belonged to the compromisers, and the fact that the Democrats possessed a monopoly of the pro-compromise votes in Congress was thoroughly exploited. The governor, both houses of the legislature, and both congressional districts remained Democratic in 1850-1851. The spirit of compromise was still supreme when the Whigs and Democrats began their spring maneuvers for the presidential campaign of 1852. The Whigs opened their February convention with a firm resolve that the Compromise of 1850 was a settlement of the slavery question "now and forever."²⁹ Together with the Democrats, the Whigs denied the concept of a "higher law" on the subject of slavery. Convening in April, the Democrats devoted four of the eight planks in their platform to singing the praises of the "final compromise." All Whig efforts to introduce other issues into the campaign came to nought when the Democrats refused to be drawn into a discussion of internal improvements, a new national bank, or distribution of the proceeds from the sale of public lands. Instead, the Democrats sat tight and expounded upon the virtues of their noncommittal candidate, Franklin Pierce. Pierce and the Compromise gave the Democrats a winning combination. This they knew, but there were more impelling reasons for the type of campaign they conducted in 1852.

The first of these reasons was the existence of a growing division in Democratic ranks both before and after the election of 1852. In Dubuque, the "Gibraltar of Democracy," the Jones wing of the party took umbrage at the nomination of Lincoln Clark for Congress from the Second District

²⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1716.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1623.

²⁹ Keosauqua *Western American*, March 6, 1852.

and refused to print his name on the ticket when it appeared in the local party press. They gave out the startling information that Clark's name was not being printed because of the way in which "politicians" had become "despots" in the matter of making nominations.³⁰ A truce was subsequently worked out, however, and in the end Clark received the support of the Jones faction.

Perhaps Jones was a little extra touchy because he himself was a candidate for re-election. The traditional arrangement in Iowa decreed that the northern and southern halves of the state should share equally in political offices and privileges. This was especially true in the matter of senatorships. Since the term of A. C. Dodge, who was a Burlington man, ran until 1854, Jones and his friends assumed there would be no opposition to the right of Dubuque to name the new Senator and that Jones would be it. But opposition there was. Jones had apparently neglected to include a Burlington railroad project in a plea for federal land grants which he had introduced into the Senate,³¹ and there was considerable talk in Democratic circles of ignoring the old north-south division of the spoils. It looked to Jones like the beginning of a move to throw him overboard.

There was quite clearly a concerted drive in several factions of the state party to defeat Jones, but most of it appears to have remained beneath the surface and confined to the professional politicians.³² Jones fought back as best he could, putting all the pressure he could on the national party leadership to grant Iowa some railroad lands. In June he had written to the party's presidential nominee, Franklin Pierce, that he had "great fears for the success of our party in my own State if the Bill now before the House making a grant of land to the State of Iowa for the construction of certain Rail Roads in that State, be not passed."³³

Jones was quite correct. The party was in serious trouble because of railroads. Iowa was displaying a positive mania for railroads in the spring of 1852, but the state was too sparsely settled to support, without federal aid, one-tenth of the railroads it envisioned. The fact that the national

³⁰ Dubuque *Weekly Miners' Express*, July 7, 1852.

³¹ Parish, *George Wallace Jones*, 44.

³² Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, 52; Dubuque *Weekly Miners' Express*, Dec. 15, 1852.

³³ George Wallace Jones to Franklin Pierce, Washington, June 7, 1852, *Franklin Pierce Papers* (Library of Congress).

party refused to support federal expenditures of land or cash for such ventures put an intolerable strain on the state Democracy. Democrats in the House and Senate had been and would continue to be most diligent in their attempts to win federal support, but by the time some success was achieved by the land grant of 1856 the local party was too far gone to derive much benefit from it.

According to election returns in 1852, the Democrats had done fairly well. It appeared that local party leadership may have been overly pessimistic, for Pierce carried the state, the Democrats controlled the legislature and would choose the next Senator, and the party had won in both congressional districts. But balanced off against this impressive showing was the Free Soil vote now three times its 1848 total, with a sizeable portion of it coming from traditionally Democratic counties in the southeastern corner of the state. Also on the debit side was the continued split in Democratic ranks which was now completely in the open as the party caucus met to decide upon a successor to Jones. A bitter fight ensued. If James W. Grimes can be believed, the feeling was intense. He wrote to his wife, "Everybody is busy electioneering, some for one office and some for another, but the all-engrossing subject is the election of United States Senator. It has already been the subject of one bloody fight, and many more are anticipated."³⁴ The election of Jones was finally rammed through the Democratic caucus, but not until party loyalties had been strained to the breaking point in the case of many individuals.

If the years following the election of 1852 had presented no problems, the Democratic party in Iowa might have found a new basis for unity and patched up its many quarrels. But few parties in American history have been allowed a respite in which to thrash out their family troubles, and the Democrats of Iowa were no exception. Outside pressures on the party increased rather than lessened. The greatest of these came from the way in which the local party continued to be squeezed between the demands of a frontier state for internal improvements, railroads, and homesteads, and the national party's refusal to open the federal purse.

Throughout 1853 Iowa's railroad fever continued unabated. In October the *Enquirer* of Muscatine noted that every tier of counties was backing a favorite railroad, and several of them seemed sure that their projected road would become a link in the transcontinental railroad which all Westerners

³⁴ William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* (New York, 1876), 31.

were eagerly awaiting.³⁵ A host of counties mortgaged themselves for years to come in order to purchase stock in railroad companies, many of which never laid a single mile of track in Iowa.³⁶ Examples of the extent of the fever can be found in virtually every issue of every newspaper published in Iowa during the summer of 1853. One issue of such a paper carried the news that Dubuque County had just voted \$200,000 in bonds to promote the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad, while the city of Dubuque had come up with \$100,000 more for the same road; Linn County was to vote the following week on a \$200,000 bond issue for the Iowa Central Air Line Railroad; the Iowa Western Railroad had the support of Mahaska County to the tune of \$60,000, Keokuk County for \$25,000, Warren County for \$10,000, Marion County for \$50,000, and Muscatine for \$55,000.³⁷ There was scarcely a businessman or politician in Iowa who did not have an interest in some railroad.

Iowa Democrats were naturally called upon to win the coveted land grants to aid construction. Both Senators Dodge and Jones supported a projected grant to the Davenport and Iowa City road as early as 1851. In February of that year Dodge introduced in the Senate a bill designed to secure public land for railroad use.³⁸ Dodge recognized that opposition from the South within the ranks of the Democratic party threatened to defeat the whole land grant movement. In an effort to head off such opposition he cited the deciding vote which the martyred Calhoun had cast in support of a land grant to the Illinois and Michigan Canal and argued that the Calhoun vote was an excellent precedent for southern Democratic approval of railroad grants.³⁹ Dodge and his friends succeeded in driving the bill through the Senate over Southern opposition, but the grant died in the House.

Jones was back in 1852 with his bill, "Senate Bill One, An Act to grant the right of way, and making a grant of land to the State of Iowa in aid of the construction of certain railroads in that State." Once again the bill passed the Senate only to be defeated in the House. To make matters worse for the Iowa Democracy, Senate Bill Three, "An act granting the

³⁵ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Oct. 20, 1853.

³⁶ Earl S. Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50: 1-17 (January, 1952.)

³⁷ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, June 11, 1853.

³⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 392.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 848.

right of way to the State of Missouri to aid in the construction of a railroad from Hannibal to St. Joseph in said State," passed both the House and Senate and became law just after the Iowa bill was defeated. Dodge and Jones might well have wondered if the national Democratic leadership was trying to destroy the party in Iowa. Whatever the purpose, Iowa's dreams of getting on the highroad to the Pacific were being regularly thwarted between 1850 and 1854 by opposition within national Democratic ranks.

It was the same need (and mania) for railroads which led Iowa into the embroglio of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Land grants for Iowa railroads could be logically defended if such roads were to become part of the main-line of the Pacific railroad or if (and this was far more likely) they were to become feeders and distributors for the transcontinental line. Iowans also were very much concerned with the future of the territory on their western border. All past frontier experience indicated that Iowans would be the largest single group in the settlement of the Platte River country when it was opened. Iowa railroad men, real estate promoters, bankers, and politicians watched eagerly for the first sign that the new lands would be opened. During 1853 the Pierce administration had concluded a series of treaties with the Indian tribes in Nebraska and Kansas, and it was apparent that the trans-Missouri lands would soon be available for settlement, investment, and exploitation.

The story of Hadley Johnson illustrates the immediate interest of Iowans in the Nebraska country and explains their initial enthusiasm for the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854. A member of the legislature and a state politician of some note, Johnson had settled in Council Bluffs in the expectation that it would become the eastern terminus of the Pacific railway. In October, 1853, a vagrant Missouri newspaper fell into his hands. The paper carried the information that a group of Missourians, missionaries, and Wyandotte Indians were going to hold an election in the country across the Missouri River. While the Missourians were apparently making no claims for the legality of their election, Johnson became convinced that Iowans could not afford to be bested in any respect in the Kansas-Nebraska country. He quickly organized a group of "impromptu immigrants" numbering over 350 men who rowed over to Scarpy's Landing on the Nebraska side of the river in order to hold an election. When the vote was counted it was found that Johnson had received the endorsement of every man present

for the office of "Delegate from the Provisional Government of Nebraska to the National Congress." After the Scarpy's Landing proceedings had been "ratified" by several meetings along the Iowa "slope," Johnson set out for Washington to join Senators Dodge and Jones in their efforts to prepare a new bill for the organization of a territorial government for Nebraska.⁴⁰ When Congress convened in December, 1853, Dodge again introduced a Nebraska bill which was promptly referred to Stephen A. Douglas' committee on territories. That committee went to work immediately upon it, reporting early in January. Within a few days the measure had been modified to include provisions for the repeal of the 36° 30' line of the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery to enter the Nebraska Territory, if the people there should vote for it. Now the fat was in the fire.

Too long has the defeat of the Democrats in Iowa been interpreted as resulting almost exclusively from the party's stand on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. According to this understanding, the Democrats were driven from power by an angered and aroused citizenry who could not stomach the "soft" attitude of the party on the subject of slavery. In this respect the role of the "Anti-Nebraska" Democrats has been carefully examined and emphasis placed upon their resistance to the introduction of slavery into the West. Without depreciating the significance of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the slavery question in the decline of the Democrats and the beginning of the Republican party in Iowa, it can be shown that the story is far more complex and significant than has been believed.

There were at least five distinct problems or issues which the Democrats faced as the campaign of 1854 opened. Over and above these five concrete problems, discussed in both party councils and press, was a sixth one only dimly understood at the time. This latter problem, and probably the most fundamental one, was the lack of purpose in the national Democratic party. The youth and vigor of Jackson's day were gone; the glory of the Mexican victory had faded away. There was no reforming zeal or crusading fervor left in the party, no positive issue to which it was dedicated. A truly conservative party might well survive and prosper without any of these, but the party of Jackson had never been conservative. One finds no dedicated souls among the Iowa Democrats of this age. They were honorable, responsible, and diligent men, but such qualities rarely inspire an electorate.

⁴⁰ William E. Connelly (ed.), "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," Nebraska State Historical Society, *Proceedings and Collections* (2nd series), 3:84-7 (1899).

The Democratic party in Iowa, as in the nation, was old and tired. Long in power (the Harrison and Taylor interludes had not broken the Democratic grip on the political life of the nation), the local party now contented itself with the small questions of office and favors. In addition to this basic problem of no positive purpose, the Democracy of Iowa was defeated in 1854 as a result of (a) the excessive factionalism we have seen at work earlier; (b) a record of failure to achieve the coveted federal lands and money desired by the entire Northwest; (c) a bad case of defeatism; (d) the temperance issue; and (e) the question of slavery and the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The Democrats got off to an early start in the campaign of 1854, opening their convention in Iowa City on January 9. The date is of some consequence, for it is the day before the Kansas-Nebraska bill appeared in the *Washington Sentinel*, with the additional Section Twenty-one, which gave the first intimation that the Missouri Compromise line was in jeopardy. January 9, 1854, was almost two weeks before the famous White House conference in which the Democratic leadership decided to make an administration measure of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Thus signs of factionalism among Iowa Democrats in their January convention had nothing to do with the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the problem of slavery in the territories. As a matter of fact the only reference to the whole problem was the adoption of a simple resolution calling for the speedy organization of the Nebraska territory.

But that factionalism was present was evident in many of the actions taken by the convention. The resolution of thanks to the party's representatives in Washington was introduced but defeated. Such a vote of thanks was normally taken for granted; its defeat meant the party was in serious trouble. The finished platform was a collection of mild generalities including planks against monopolies and disunion and favoring the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. After giving the Pierce administration a pat on the back, the convention did agree upon a general endorsement of the national party's platform of 1852, which had included approval of the Fugitive Slave Law, but no specific endorsement of that law was made. The platform was plainly a compromise affair between bitterly feuding factions. The knotty problem of banks was ignored as were the questions of railroad land grants and the homestead law. Nothing was said about the location of the state capital, one of the hottest issues of the day, nor did the rising

temperance movement receive either encouragement or reproof. Silence was obviously considered the best alternative to agreement and unity.

The Democrats' failure to secure the much-coveted grants of land and money for homesteads, railroads, and internal improvements also hurt the party during the 1854 contest. The campaign started off ominously with the rejection of another homestead bill by the Eastern and Southern leaders of the Democracy. Piled on top of previous defeats, with no sign that the national Democratic leadership would ever relent and pass a homestead law, this defeat gave an air of futility to the actions of Dodge and Representative Bernhart Henn who had fought valiantly in both the Senate and the House for the measure.⁴¹ There is, on the other hand, some indication that the homestead bill which Henn introduced in the House in December, 1853, became something of a handicap to the Iowa Democrats in the subsequent campaign. The Henn measure would have prevented several categories of foreign-born from deriving any benefits under the bill, and Iowa Germans were particularly sensitive to any discrimination at this time because of a rising tide of nativism in many communities in the state.⁴² The Democrats were equally unsuccessful in securing land grants for railroads. Dodge and Jones continued to present the petitions of various Iowans for a grant to this or that railroad.⁴³ They made speeches⁴⁴ and spent a good portion of their time seeking support for the Iowa grants. The pressure on the Democrats on this score appears to have increased somewhat during the year because of a slump in railroad building, making federal grants seem imperative for their continued construction. The third plank in the economic platform of the Northwest also remained a stumbling block to the Democracy: federal support of internal improvements. When the Pierce veto of a rivers and harbors bill was announced, Iowa Democrats accepted it without a murmur.⁴⁵ It was not unexpected and certainly added to the sense of frustration plaguing the Democrats of the entire Northwest as they watched their economic program either ignored, defeated, or vetoed, and largely by their own party leadership in the East and South.

⁴¹ *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., 1127-8.

⁴² Herriott, "A Neglected Factor in the Anti-Slavery Triumph in Iowa in 1854," 66-70.

⁴³ *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., 159, 221, 273, 407, 1058.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 357-8.

⁴⁵ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Aug. 17, 1854.

Democratic defeat in 1854 has been frequently attributed to overconfidence.⁴⁶ It would be more accurate to call it defeatism. Since the state legislature to be elected in the fall was the one that was to choose a successor to Dodge in the Senate, he was as much a candidate as other Democratic nominees in the state. In spite of his personal stake in the campaign, Dodge did not return from Washington, and his total public contribution to the canvass was a couple of joint letters which he and Jones sent to the Democratic press in Iowa. It is significant that when the Democrats were defeated, Dodge accepted an appointment as ambassador to Spain rather than return to Iowa and try to repair the damage the party had suffered. He did not return to the state until 1859. Jones's contribution was no more substantial. While not a direct candidate for office, he certainly had much at stake. Aside from participating in the joint letters with Dodge, he sat pat in Washington. When his term expired he followed Dodge's example and accepted the post of minister to New Granada and never returned to political prominence in Iowa. These are not the actions of men determined to hold their party together and turn back the vigorous challenge of their foes, but rather of men who had already lost a large measure of hope.

A fourth problem to give the Democrats trouble in 1854 was the "Maine Law agitation" as the temperance question was then labeled. Maine had recently adopted a law prohibiting liquor, and all the states of the Old Northwest seemed to be following suit and were in the midst of referendums on the issue. The temperance movement had been developing for some years in Iowa, but until 1854 it had remained outside of politics. However, late in 1853 several state temperance leaders came to the conclusion that the success of the crusade elsewhere warranted a bid for legislation in Iowa.⁴⁷ Accordingly, each of the parties was approached early in 1854. The Democrats refused to commit themselves on the subject, but the "Opposition" was receptive and adopted a platform plank in support of prohibition. In the course of the campaign Henry Clay Dean, the "stormy petrel of Iowa politics," tried to nail down the two gubernatorial candidates on the temperance question. In open letters to both Curtis Bates and James W. Grimes, Dean asked them to outline their position on the temperance issue

⁴⁶ Herriott, "A Neglected Factor in the Anti-Slavery Triumph in Iowa in 1854," 7; George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict* (Boston, 1934), 173; Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848-1860," 114.

⁴⁷ Dan Elbert Clark, "The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 6:68-70 (January, 1908).

and their course of action if elected. Although both Bates and Grimes replied that they would not veto a prohibition bill, it was well known throughout the state that Grimes was personally a temperance man, while Bates preferred either a license law or no legislation at all. Actually, neither party was united either for or against prohibition, although there is little doubt that the bulk of the temperance people were among the Whigs or "Opposition," while the majority of the Democrats wanted to leave the subject alone. As a result, while the question of prohibition divided both parties in 1854 to some extent, it divided the Democrats themselves even more. The aforementioned Henry Clay Dean became one of the most active campaigners in the state in behalf of Bates and prohibition.⁴⁸ This led to difficulties in towns like Dubuque, Muscatine, and Burlington, where the German population was high and the prohibition sentiment low. The *Dubuque Miners' Express*, a Bates paper, noted with an evident air of distaste the activities of "Henry Clay Dean the Temperance Brawler" and spoke of him as a "raving and ranting apostle of temperance."⁴⁹ In the Second Congressional District, James Thorington, a well-known temperance advocate, won the "Opposition" nomination and went on to defeat the popular ex-governor Stephen Hempstead.⁵⁰ After the election, editorial comment was in general agreement that temperance had been the vital issue in that District. Further evidence of the handicap which the liquor question imposed upon the Democrats may be deduced from the vote taken in April of 1855 resulting in the adoption of prohibition for Iowa. To a surprising degree the counties returning majorities against a prohibition law were the same counties voting Democratic in 1852.⁵¹ But even the Democratic anti-prohibition counties contained very substantial prohibition elements which had weakened the party in the previous campaign.

Thus it is evident that the Democrats in Iowa might well have been defeated even if there had been no problem of slavery in the territories and no Kansas-Nebraska bill. Democratic factionalism in the local party, repeated defeats for the Northwestern economic program, defeatism, and troubles with temperance had thrown the party way off balance.

⁴⁸ Charles E. Snyder, "Curtis Bates," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 44: 307 (July, 1946).

⁴⁹ Dubuque *Weekly Miners' Express*, June 28, 1854.

⁵⁰ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Aug. 31, 1854.

⁵¹ State of Iowa, *Official Register, Executive, Judicial and County Officers of the State of Iowa, 1889* (Cedar Rapids, 1889), 207-208.

State Democratic leaders appear to have been quite as surprised by the storm of protest kicked up by the Kansas-Nebraska bill as was the national party leadership. They also seemed to share the view that the Missouri Compromise had been effectively repealed by the Compromise of 1850, even though that repeal was not explicit. All three of Iowa's Democratic representatives in Washington emphasized the virtues of expansion and thought the repeal of the 36° 30' line a small price to pay for the tremendous benefits that would follow. In his major speech in the Senate on the measure, Dodge predicted that the "settlement and occupation of Nebraska will accomplish for us what the acquisition and peopling of Iowa did for Illinois." He then explained that he had originally thought of creating a single territory to the west of both Missouri and Iowa but soon switched to support of the "establishment of *two* Territories; otherwise the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must have all fallen south of Iowa."⁵² Obviously Iowa's interest in organizing the territories centered on the "seat of government and leading thoroughfares" (meaning railroads).

Bernhart Henn used a little more circumspect language, but his meaning was the same. In May he told the House:

. . . it was the mission of our race to subdue the wilderness of the North American continent. . . . We have acquired possessions on the Pacific; we need roads thither to protect them! We have planted our banners west of the Rocky Mountains; we need American muscle to hold them aloft! Between us and them interpose Nebraska and Kansas. The sovereignty is ours — the possession must follow. By organizing these Territories, we have American law, *created by American will*, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We have a safe conduit for our overland emigration. We have peace with the Indian tribes. We have increased commercial advantages, and increased wealth as a nation.⁵³

Perhaps the trouble with the Democrats was that they were carried away by their visions of Manifest Destiny and simply could not imagine that anyone in Iowa would oppose a measure so lofty in purpose and so promising in its prospect of profits.

Senator Jones agreed with Dodge and Henn on the virtues of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. However, he seems to have sensed the danger in an open endorsement of the measure, for in his only *Senate* speech on the subject

⁵² *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 382.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 885-8.

Jones confined his remarks to an attack upon the Clayton Amendment.⁵⁴ This amendment, introduced by Clayton of Delaware, had its roots in the nativist sentiments gaining currency in these years. The amendment would have limited the right to vote and hold office in the proposed territories to citizens of the United States. This was contrary to the frontier experience, where a man's presence in the new community was all that was normally required to make him eligible for the suffrage and office holding. Jones, with long personal experience in frontier politics, knew that, regardless of Iowa's reaction to the bill as a whole, his foreign-born constituents would deeply resent the second-class status which the Clayton Amendment would create for them. Jones was also aware that the foreign-born Democrats in Iowa were already upset by the provisions of the homestead measure currently before the House, which had been introduced by Henn. And finally, by concentrating upon the Clayton Amendment, Jones was able to obscure his general approval of the Douglas bill. He was so successful in this last objective that the Whig press in Muscatine sternly accused him of "shirking the responsibility" when it announced the vote on the bill in the Senate.⁵⁵

With few notable exceptions, opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill was as general among Iowa Democrats at home as approval had been in the Washington contingent. Both of the Democratic newspapers in Dubuque rejected the Douglas bill when it was first reported, but within a week they had reversed their stands.⁵⁶ Originally opposing the measure on the grounds that it would needlessly reopen the slavery question, they both laid their change of heart at the door of Douglas' speech. A search of the surviving files of Democratic newspapers fails to show another paper, either pro- or anti-administration, which approved the Kansas-Nebraska bill. A very revealing side light appears in the columns of the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* of Muscatine. Late in 1853 H. D. LaCossitt had sold the paper with the understanding that he could send back to the new editors dispatches from the Washington scene. LaCossitt wrote a series of articles while in Washington during the Kansas-Nebraska debate. These articles were in support of the Nebraska bill, and the new editors of the *Enquirer* dutifully printed them. The *Enquirer's* editors then devoted several edi-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 779-80.

⁵⁵ *Muscatine Journal*, March 10, 1854.

⁵⁶ Dubuque *Weekly Miners' Express*, Feb. 8, 1854.

torial columns to explaining why they could not agree with their Washington correspondent and why they persisted in their rejection of the Douglas bill.⁵⁷ The foreign language press, largely Democratic, joined in the repudiation of the national leadership. Theodore Guelich, editor of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, slashed out at the "despicable treachery" of Douglas and the administration. Guelich also made the rather acute observation that this bill simply revealed that the fundamental differences between the moribund Whigs and the divided Democrats had disappeared and that they were now being held together solely in the interests of office and spoils. He also predicted the rise of a new party that would put fresh spirit and purpose into American politics.⁵⁸

The famous "Appeal of the Independent Democrats," penned in Washington by Salmon Chase, signed by Charles Sumner and four other abolitionists or Free Soilers, and so influential in wrecking the Democratic parties in Ohio and Illinois, apparently had little effect on Iowa Democrats. It was published by both the *New York Times* and Horace Greeley's *Tribune* and thus certainly received wide circulation in Iowa, but the fact that it was reprinted in only one newspaper in the state would indicate that the local politicians found it inapplicable to the Iowa situation.⁵⁹

It is very difficult to determine the exact damage done to Iowa Democrats by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In the flurry of Anti-Nebraska meetings which were held all over the state, Democrats did take part. They were present, along with "Conscience" Whigs, Free Soilers, Abolitionists, and Know-Nothings. The press of the day frequently observed that many men gathered outside of halls where Anti-Nebraska meetings had been called and waited to see the size of the crowd and the political complexion of those present before declaring themselves by entering the hall. Few prominent Democrats allowed their names to get into the press in connection with these meetings, and the correspondence of such men sheds little light on the subject. Most of the election returns of 1854 are no more significant, for they do not distinguish between those who left the Democratic party because of its record of failure and dissension and those who left only with the introduction of the Kansas issue. The victory of Democrat Augustus

⁵⁷ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Feb. 9, 16, March 2, 1854.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Louis Pelzer, "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1846-1857," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 6:205-206 (April, 1908).

⁵⁹ Ottumwa *Des Moines Courier*, March 2, 1854.

Hall over Rufus L. B. Clarke in the First Congressional District had greater significance than it had generally been accorded. As the *Keokuk Dispatch* observed:

Mr. Hall was nominated as a Nebraska man; the Convention that placed him before the people, eschewing a timid policy, passed resolutions endorsing the great principles of popular sovereignty, contained in the Nebraska-Kansas Bill. . . . This demonstrates that our general defeat in Iowa was not caused by the Nebraska measure.⁶⁰

The opinion of the *Dispatch* cannot be accepted without reservations, but it does help to redress the balance. It reminds us that the Democratic defeat in Iowa in 1854 was the result of a complex series of events, some of which, like the frustration of the Northwestern economic program, dated back to the Polk administration, and many of which were the result of a loss of purpose. Excessive factionalism, a defeatist attitude, divisions on matters like prohibition, the location of the state capital, and the constitutional prohibition on banking in the state were the symptoms of a sick party. Just as the healthy human body is host to bacteria and virus at all times, but sickens and dies only when the invaders exceed a certain number, so a political party can stand considerable dissension and many honest differences of opinion but will weaken and die if these things become excessive.

In the campaigns following the 1854 defeat the Iowa Democrats continued to be bothered by a variety of troubles. Throughout 1855 and 1856 the Know-Nothings showed considerable power; they found the Democrats particularly easy prey. It must be remembered that the main sources of Democratic strength in Iowa were the early settlers in the southern border and river counties and the immigrant elements concentrated primarily in the river counties. Here, the anti-foreign-born prejudices of the Know-Nothings were highly popular with many of the native-born and quite unpopular, naturally, among the immigrants. The Democrats were particularly anxious to stifle the Know-Nothing movement before it drove the German vote into the arms of the "Opposition." In a Democratic convention of the Eighth Judicial District of Iowa, comprising the counties of Jones, Clinton, Muscatine, Scott, Cedar, and Jackson, the only issue deemed worthy of a resolution was one taking a strong stand against the Know-

⁶⁰ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Sept. 13, 1854.

Nothings.⁶¹ Muscatine Democrats followed suit some months later.⁶² A Jefferson County Democratic convention provided a variation: as a preliminary to participation in the convention, each delegate was required to "rise in his place and give a pledge that he was a Democrat and had no sympathy with Know-Nothings."⁶³ Within a year the Know-Nothings had acquired a party press of at least five newspapers and apparently more voting strength in one year than the abolitionists had acquired in ten years. The relationship of the Know-Nothing movement to the decline of the Iowa Democracy was properly understood by the editors of the *Muscatine Enquirer*. These editors noted that the death of the Whig party and the divisions in the Democratic party had left many men without a political roof. Such men were ready to "go in for anything rather than the two old organizations." The real threat of the movement lay in the fact that many men found it the "readiest means to break up the old parties, with which they were dissatisfied."⁶⁴

The Democrats were further demoralized in 1855 by the departure of A. C. Dodge for his position in Madrid, leaving the anti-administration wing of the party without experienced leadership. By 1856 the various "Opposition" elements had succeeded in forming a Republican organization in the state and carrying Iowa for Fremont, as well as winning both seats in Congress. Democratic reaction was feeble; rather than searching out the best candidates they might have nominated and trying to exploit the many mistakes made by the inexperienced Republicans, the Democrats continued to spend most of their energies on squabbling among themselves. In August, 1857, just six weeks before the gubernatorial contest, Jones wrote to former President Pierce, revealing the full extent of his party's collapse. According to Jones:

I have had a great deal of correspondence with the present administration [Buchanan's] relative to the offices in this state, all of which they intended to fill by other than my friends through the influence of the men in the state who went for Mr. Buch[anan] for the nomination in preference to yourself who they knew I preferred to all other men on earth. I distinctly gave them to under-

⁶¹ *Muscatine Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, March 15, 1855.

⁶² *Ibid.*, July 19, 1855.

⁶³ Charles J. Fulton, "Jefferson County Politics Before the Civil War," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd series), 11:437 (July, 1914).

⁶⁴ *Muscatine Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Nov. 30, 1854.

stand that if men who had been apptd to office by yourself at the instance of my colleagues & myself were to be removed from office merely to gratify such fellows as [Thomas S.] Wilson, [Augustus] Hall, [Lincoln] Clark and the like — and their favorites were made to succeed them & I could not procure their rejection by the Senate that I would resign the seat which I hold there & allow another abolitionist like Mr. Harlan to be appted as my successor.⁶⁵

Surprisingly enough, one of the factors which accounted for much Democratic embarrassment in other northern states in 1857, and which is normally credited with being an important factor in the decline of the Iowa Democracy, apparently had no effect. This was the famous Dred Scott Decision which, with its endorsement by the Buchanan administration, wrought havoc in some sections of the North. A careful search of the Iowa press reveals only an occasional announcement of the Supreme Court's decision and no political discussion of it at all. This is equally true of both the Republican and Democratic press in 1857. The Dred Scott Decision seems to have had no perceptible effect on the declining Democratic fortunes until it became a very minor issue in the 1860 presidential campaign.

The year ended with the Democracy split further by the Lecompton debacle. While Senator Jones endorsed the Buchanan approval of the proslavery Lecompton Constitution for Kansas, 90 per cent of the Democratic editors in the state supported Stephen A. Douglas' rejection of the Lecompton "fraud," and repudiated the leadership of Jones.⁶⁶ This situation persisted throughout 1858, culminating in a comic opera scene in Dubuque. Although Jones's term in the Senate was to expire in March, 1859, the legislature which was to choose his successor had been elected in 1857 and that election had been won by the Republicans, giving them the choice of the next United States Senator. Under these circumstances a senatorial nomination by the Democratic caucus would be honorific — an endorsement for past policies rather than a promise of future support. But Jones's support of Buchanan and the Lecompton Constitution gave his old rival, Thomas S. Wilson, an opportunity to repudiate Buchanan and reprimand Jones by taking from him the endorsement of the Democratic caucus in the legislature. The race between Jones and Wilson became heated and lasted

⁶⁵ George Wallace Jones to Franklin Pierce, Dubuque, Aug. 6, 1857, *Pierce Papers*.

⁶⁶ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, January and February, 1858, *passim*.

long after it had become a statewide joke. Many editors likened the Dubuque wrangle to the famed feud between Shakespeare's Montagues and Capulets.⁶⁷ The upshot of the affair was that Benjamin Samuels was chosen to make the futile race,⁶⁸ his choice being interpreted as an emphatic repudiation of the Buchanan administration by the Iowa Democracy.⁶⁹

With Jones out of the way in 1859, as minister to New Granada, and Dodge returning to the state to make the run for governor, the Democrats began to perk up. Stephen A. Douglas in the Senate gave the Iowa party and the entire Northwest a leader they could honestly follow. His emphasis upon popular sovereignty squared with the hopes and experience of Iowans. The Democratic Convention, remembering Dodge's long service to the party, his proven vote-getting ability, and his absence from Iowa during the 1856 fiasco and the Lecompton mess, nominated him by acclamation. His companions on the ticket included Thomas S. Wilson and two other prominent Douglas men. The usual resolution backing the national administration was stopped cold on the floor; for a time it looked as though Buchanan actually would be censured, but cooler heads prevailed. The finished platform was a straightforward statement of the Douglas position: it endorsed popular sovereignty; repudiated the Dred Scott Decision, together with the Supreme Court; called for the acquisition of Cuba, the building of a Pacific railroad, and passage of a homestead law; and condemned the move to reopen the African slave trade. On state issues the platform was a little more equivocal but not nearly to the degree that had become habitual during recent campaigns.

When the election was over in 1859, Iowans had chosen the taciturn Samuel Jordan Kirkwood over the fiery A. C. Dodge, but by a margin so slim that it gave Republicans cold chills. In a total vote of 110,048, Kirkwood won by a majority of only 2,964. It was a slight increase over the size of the Republican victory of 1857 but only a little more than half the victory Grimes had won back in 1854. While a county-by-county survey of the election showed that the Republicans had picked up five scattered counties which had been Democratic in 1857, it also showed that the Demo-

⁶⁷ Parish, *George Wallace Jones*, 49-52; Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, 104.

⁶⁸ There is added evidence of the severity of the Democratic schism in 1858 in Mildred Throne, "C. C. Carpenter in the 1858 Iowa Legislature," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:31-60 (January, 1954).

⁶⁹ Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, 118-19.

crats had won back three of the counties voting Republican in 1857. An unimpressive two counties was the net Republican gain. In spite of the good showing Dodge had made, the fact that they had been defeated even behind their best vote-getter seems to have taken most of the starch out of the Democrats: if they could not win with Douglas and Dodge in 1859, what chance had they in 1860?

The February convention to choose delegates to Charleston was completely dominated by Douglas men who chose A. C. Dodge and Benjamin M. Samuels to head a delegation of eight. After reaffirming its 1856 platform, denouncing John Brown and his raid on Harper's Ferry, and voting a perfunctory thanks to the Buchanan administration, the convention instructed its Charleston delegates to cast their ballots as a unit for Stephen A. Douglas "so long as he should be a candidate before that body."⁷⁰ Ben Samuels played a prominent part in the Charleston drama, joining other Iowans who watched in dismay as the convention disintegrated.⁷¹ Later, in Baltimore, there was not one dissident voice as Iowa delegates joined the Northwestern Democrats in nominating Douglas.

The Democratic ratification convention met in Des Moines on July 12. It was a dispirited crew and reached for straws to keep afloat. The first five resolutions of the meeting pledged allegiance to Douglas and adherence to the doctrines of nonintervention and popular sovereignty; the sixth was a plea for homestead legislation. Beyond that the convention sought to shift the discussion from national problems to local issues. Apparently working on the assumption that a flood of words might drown their troubles, the convention adopted seventeen more resolutions, making the final platform the longest in the history of the state.⁷²

The overwhelming majority of Iowa Democrats either went along with Douglas or stayed home, but a small group met in Davenport on August 15 to promote the Breckinridge-Lane candidacy. This faction chose a full slate of presidential electors and adopted an ultra-Buchanan platform. The heart of the movement lay in Davenport and Scott County with some support coming from other river towns. This "National Democracy" had one lone voice in the Lyons City *Advocate*, but the enthusiasm that comes with a

⁷⁰ Louis Pelzer, "The History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 7:216 (April, 1909).

⁷¹ Owen Peterson, "Ben Samuels in the Democratic National Convention of 1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:225-38 (July, 1952).

⁷² Herbert S. Fairall, *Manual of Iowa Politics* (Iowa City, 1884), 54-7.

chance for victory was not there, and the moral fervor which usually characterizes a third party was missing.

Iowans never doubted that the Republicans had the state in the bag. On the one hand was the divided Democracy, fast losing its grip on the spoils and daily becoming more identified with the interests of the South. A long series of defeats in Iowa had left it without leadership or enthusiasm. The Republicans, on the other hand, were strong in their youth and popularity. The smell of victory was in the air, and ambitious men were hurrying to get aboard the bandwagon. A firm grip on the state patronage gave Republicans an ample supply of money and loyal workers at the grass roots level (in precincts or townships).⁷³ Senator Grimes, answering an inquiry from Abraham Lincoln concerning Republican prospects in Iowa, reported that the state would go Republican "by an increased majority."⁷⁴ Grimes thought the Democrats with their candidate Benjamin Samuels were waging a last-ditch fight in the First Congressional District to defeat the Republican incumbent, but even there Grimes was confident of victory. Grimes's report to Lincoln showed that he was far more concerned about the outcome in Pennsylvania and Indiana than in Iowa. He was right: in Iowa, Lincoln defeated Douglas by 70,000 to 55,000; Breckinridge and Bell each received just over 1,000 votes and less than 3,000 altogether.

The Democracy of Iowa had harvested the bitter fruit of years of division which went all the way back to 1850-1851. A bankruptcy of ideas and purposes had led to division between national and local parties and to dissension within the local party itself. The Democrats could not close ranks on the issue of prohibition. Local party chieftains were thwarted by the national leaders when Iowa's need for federal land or money grants was advanced. A general atmosphere of hopelessness and defeatism had replaced the old vigor of the Jacksonians. Offices and spoils had become a major concern of the party leaders as well as of the usual party hacks. The issue of slavery served to topple a badly weakened Democracy whose foundations had already crumbled as a result of bitter and long standing divisions. The 1860 crisis and the Civil War which followed merely empha-

⁷³ In July the *Iowa Capital Reporter* of Iowa City went over to the Republicans for a reported \$500 plus a promise of county printing. J. Edward [H?]orce to Grenville M. Dodge, Iowa City, July 29, 1860, *Grenville M. Dodge Papers* (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa), Vol. I.

⁷⁴ James W. Grimes to Abraham Lincoln, Burlington, Oct. 1, 1860, *Abraham Lincoln Papers* (Library of Congress).

sized the depth of these divisions and prolonged their life. Democrats loyal to the Union had become first disgruntled Democrats and then had joined the Republican party because they had nowhere else to go.

THE IOWA GENERAL ASSEMBLY: COMPOSITION AND POWERS

By *Russell M. Ross**

COMPOSITION

In Iowa the legislature — known officially as the General Assembly — is the policy making branch of the governmental machine.¹ It is the agency that determines what the government shall do; it makes provision for the executing of those activities; and it is also the representative body that echoes the demands of the people. Any decision as to expansion or contraction of a state governmental function must come ultimately from the General Assembly.

The Territory of Iowa was established in 1838. The first Legislative Assembly of the Territory convened at Burlington on November 12, 1838. During the territorial period the legislature met annually in eight regular sessions and in two extra or special sessions, held in 1840 and 1844. The regular sessions were limited to seventy-five days by the Organic Act of the Territory. The first six regular sessions lasted the full seventy-five days, including Sundays and any recess.

The pioneer Iowa legislators followed in a general way the procedure in the English House of Commons and apparently used Jefferson's Manual as the basis of the rules for conducting business. Between 1838 and 1846 the Legislative Assembly enacted nearly a thousand laws, most of which were concerned with the establishment, administration, and maintenance of the territorial government. It was the duty of the Secretary of the Territory to "record and preserve all of the laws and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly." Included among his many duties was the task of printing and distributing the statutes. He was obliged to transmit one copy of the laws to the President of the United States and two copies to the Speaker of the

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¹For the powers of the Governor of Iowa, see Russell M. Ross, "The Powers of the Governor of Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:129-40 (April, 1954).

United States House of Representatives. From 1838 to 1841 the legislators convened in Burlington; from 1842 until 1846 in Iowa City.²

When Iowa entered the Union in 1846 the state constitution vested the authority to enact statute law in a General Assembly, which, like its forerunner, the Legislative Assembly of the territorial period, was composed of two houses. The smaller or upper house was known as the Senate; the larger body as the House of Representatives. The General Assembly, during the years 1846 to 1857, met in Iowa City. With the adoption of a new Constitution in 1857 the capital was transferred to Des Moines, where the legislature met for the first time in 1858.³

The average age of the members of the Iowa General Assembly has been constantly increasing. The minimum age requirements (twenty-one in the House and twenty-five in the Senate) have not been of great importance because seldom have over one or two men in their twenties been elected to the legislature. The trend would seem to be toward the selection of older rather than younger legislators. In the 53rd General Assembly (1949) the oldest member was seventy-eight, while the youngest was twenty-eight. In the 54th General Assembly the oldest member was a Senator who was eighty-one and the youngest was a twenty-nine-year-old Representative. In the 55th General Assembly the oldest member was seventy-six, while the youngest was fifty-one years his junior.

Farmers are the dominant occupational group in the Iowa legislatures. In a typical legislative session 43 of the 108 members of the House claimed farming as their occupation, while 19 of the 50 Senators also stated it as their means of livelihood. The second occupational group in both the Senate and the House usually is the law profession. In the same session cited above, the House included 16 attorneys and the Senate 13. One of the recent General Assemblies included 53 farmers in the House and 14 in the Senate. Lawyers as usual were the second occupational group, with 16 members in the House and 13 in the Senate. Throughout the years there has been no important shift in professional affiliations. Almost identical numbers of farmers and lawyers served in 1951 and 1953 as in 1900.

² John E. Briggs, "History and Organization of the Legislature in Iowa," *Iowa Applied History Series* (6 vols., Iowa City, 1912-1930), 3:5-51.

³ Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *Old Stone Capitol Remembers* (Iowa City, 1939); John E. Briggs, "The Removal of the Capital from Iowa City to Des Moines," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 14:56-95 (January, 1916); Jacob Swisher, "The Capitols at Des Moines, Iowa," *ibid.*, 39:52-88 (January, 1941).

The educational training of members of the General Assembly has become more pronounced. In each of the last four Assemblies there have been at least 100 of the 158 members with some college training. This is in direct contrast to legislatures meeting at the beginning of the twentieth century, when less than 50 members had college backgrounds. The increase of members with higher education has been chiefly noticeable in the House, where in 1910 as many as 39 Representatives had no more than a common school education.⁴

The Constitution of 1857 originally allowed only "free, white males" to qualify for the General Assembly, but an amendment of 1880 allowed Negroes to qualify; in 1926 an amendment permitted membership to women. Women have never been numerous in the General Assembly; usually only two or three serve in each legislative body. All candidates for public office in Iowa must be citizens of the United States, and members must have resided in Iowa one year immediately preceding the election and have had an actual residence of sixty days in the county or district they are chosen to represent.

Each house is the judge of the qualifications, election, and return of its own members. At the beginning of each session of the legislature, the newly elected members present their certificates of election to the secretary of the Senate or to the chief clerk of the House. A special committee in each house examines the papers and recommends that those whose election papers are satisfactory be seated.

Contested elections are settled by the house concerned. The procedure is not uniform, but usually the election contest is referred to either the Election or the Judiciary Committee, or to a special committee which conducts hearings and investigates the facts of the case and reports to the legislative body its recommendations. The group then votes for the candidate they believe should receive the seat.⁵

The Code of Iowa provides that vacancies in the General Assembly, which occur while the body is in session, or when the legislature will convene prior to the next general election, shall be filled by a special election to be called by the Governor at the earliest practicable time, with ten days'

⁴ Jacob A. Swisher and Russell M. Ross, *The Legislation of the 53rd General Assembly of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1951); *Iowa Official Registers* for 1953-1954, 1951-1952, 1949-1950, 1947-1948.

⁵ Briggs, "History and Organization of the Legislature in Iowa," 52-66.

notice given of such election. In the past, occasions have arisen where the Governor has convened the legislature in extraordinary session and vacancies have existed. On some occasions the Governor has attempted to appoint members to the legislature to fill these vacancies, but there has been a divergence of opinion between the House and the Senate. The House has refused to seat the members so appointed on the ground that the appointing power is not in the Governor, but the Senate has at least on one occasion in recent years conceded the appointments and seated the appointed members.

The compensation paid to members of the General Assembly from 1857 to 1872 was on a per diem basis. The first pay was \$3.00 per day, but this was increased to \$5.00 per diem in 1868. In 1872 the basis of compensation was changed so that each member received \$550 for a regular session; for the extra sessions the same rate per day prevailed as in the preceding regular session. The 34th General Assembly increased the pay per session to \$1,000, to apply to the 35th General Assembly meeting in 1913. The maximum pay per day in the special sessions was established at \$10 per day at the same time. The 53rd General Assembly doubled the pay to be received by the members, setting the biennial salary at \$2,000 per regular session. This increase went into effect with the 54th General Assembly meeting in 1951, since the Iowa Constitution stipulates that no General Assembly may increase the compensation of its own members. A member whose term of office includes more than 50 days of the regular session receives the full \$2,000. The maximum pay for special sessions is \$20 per day, while the per diem allowance is based on that received during the regular session.

In addition to the biennial salary, members of the Iowa legislature receive traveling expenses. Five cents per mile was the figure on the statute books from 1880 to 1949. The 53rd General Assembly raised this figure to seven cents per mile. Members of the House and Senate are furnished with stationery and postage. The limits or amounts of supplies appear to be established partially by custom and in part by each General Assembly.

Iowa, like almost all of the forty-eight states, has given little attention to the need for suitable working quarters for the legislature. Only the presiding officers of each house can be said to have offices that are adequate for their needs. All of the other members of the Iowa House and Senate must work either in their hotel rooms or at the small desk provided each

member on the floor of his respective chamber. The desk is shared by the legislator's secretary. Occasionally the lawmaker finds temporary quarters at a desk in the State Law Library, but only a small minority of the 158 members of the Assembly will be fortunate enough to obtain a desk in the library. Likewise, the various committees find that as many as three and four committees must share the same cramped caucus room. The so-called working press and radio are also inadequately housed in both the House and Senate chambers. Oftentimes members of the press and radio find that they must infringe upon the public's seats in the gallery. As in most states, the situation could be improved by moving more of the executive departments out of the capitol, but some observers feel that since members of the legislature are in session usually only four months in every twenty-four it would be too great a cost. This is a rather shortsighted view, as the absence of suitable working quarters is a severe handicap to effective legislation.

Senators and Representatives, in all except cases of treason, felony, and breach of the peace, are privileged from arrest in going to and returning from sessions of the General Assembly. Members are also exempt from any civil or special action in court while the Assembly is in session. Outside of the legislative halls, no member may be questioned for any speech or debate that he makes in the sessions of the General Assembly. Any punishment of members for disorderly behavior is rendered by the House involved. A member of either group may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the body, but not a second time for the same offence.

Each new legislature has a large number of inexperienced members. Many have had very limited public service experience. In the Senate the turnover is somewhat slower than in the House, since Senators are elected to serve four years, while Representatives are elected every two years. For illustration, the 53rd General Assembly had 56 new members in the House, while only 52 members had served other terms. The new faces in the Senate were also numerous, with 17 of the 50 serving their first term in that body. In the 55th General Assembly, 42 of the 158 legislators were new members, with a record of 116 veteran lawmakers. A review of the General Assembly membership reveals that, prior to the 1949 and 1953 sessions, the greatest number of experienced lawmakers in the Iowa legislature occurred in 1906, when 104 of the 108 had served in previous sessions. This unusually high number of experienced legislators is partially explained by the fact that many of the members held over for a session owing to a

change in the time of election. Between 1898 and 1915 the range of legislators with previous experience was between 70 and 90. It would appear that the tendency is developing in Iowa to return experienced members to the Assembly with a greater degree of regularity. It is now not unusual to find Representatives serving as many as ten or more terms in the House, and Senators being re-elected more than five times. This trend toward a more experienced core of lawmakers should mark a step toward improvement in the caliber of the statute lawmaking process.

Representation in the House has been upon the basis of population only to a slight degree; in the Senate, however, greater regard has been given to representation according to population. In the House of the First General Assembly (1846) there were 39 Representatives, each elected from a separate district.⁶ The number of Representatives was increased twice under the Constitution of 1846, to a total of 72.

The Constitution of 1857 contained a new set of rules on representative districting, but still included a clause forbidding counties composing any district to be separated from each other by any county belonging to another district. Also, the Constitution stipulated that no representative district be composed of more than four counties. Even with these restrictions, representative districts under the new organic law could be districted and revised at every regular session. The number of Representatives in the Seventh General Assembly, the first under the new Constitution, was 86, from a total of 61 districts. The number of Representatives was changed in 1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, and 1870. From 1870 to 1904 there were 100 Representatives in the House. In 1904 the Constitution was amended so as to fix the number of Representatives at 108, the present number, but territory or land area still played a more important role in the representative districts than did population. Each county (there are 99), regardless of its total population, elects one Representative, with only a slight concession to the population factor in granting the nine most populous counties an additional Representative. This allows one county in Iowa with slightly over 10,000 population to have one Representative, while Polk County, with over 200,000 population, elects only two Representatives. Thus a single vote in the county with 10,000 people and one Representative has ten times the

⁶ Dorothy Schaffter, "The Bicameral System in Practice," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 17:22-128, 171-226 (April, 1929); Briggs, "History and Organization of the Legislature in Iowa," 5-135.

weight of the Polk County voter in determining the election of the Representative. According to the most recent census, there were 21 counties in Iowa with a total population of approximately 273,000, with 21 votes in the Iowa House. In direct contrast, Polk and Woodbury counties have a total population of over 327,000, but they have only 4 Representatives.

The 108 Representatives, if on a population apportionment, should each represent 24,190 people. According to the 1950 census, 23 counties in the state have more than 24,190 people per Representative, but 73 counties have less than 24,190 people represented by one legislator. The nine counties with two Representatives each are: Polk, Woodbury, Scott, Linn, Black Hawk, Dubuque, Pottawattamie, Wapello, and Clinton.

The Iowa Senate consisted of 19 members under the Constitution of 1846. This total was increased twice before the Constitution of 1857 provided that the senatorial districts were to be reapportioned after every state and federal census, with the maximum number fixed permanently at 50. This maximum figure was attained in 1872.

The Amendment to the Constitution ratified in 1904 established the Senate at 50 members, to be apportioned among the counties according to population distribution as shown by the last preceding census. However, the statute prohibits any senatorial district from being smaller in area than a county and allows only one Senator for each district. As a result, Senators from some of the less populous districts represent as few as 25,000 persons, while the Senator elected from Polk County represents over 200,000. With the 1950 population, the districts should each, if on a strict population apportionment, include 52,251 people. Of the 50 districts, 16 contain more than 52,251 people, while 34 contain less than 52,251.

While Iowa does not have a great rural-urban conflict in the General Assembly, nevertheless there is some strife present. There is no doubt that both the Senate and the House are controlled by the rural areas. The cities in Iowa are not represented in the legislature to the extent that their population should justify.

Over 1,000,000 people in Iowa reside in the 16 counties containing cities of over 15,000 population. Thus more than 40 per cent of the total population is concentrated in 16 counties, and these 16 counties elect only 25 of the 108 members of the House. Thus, 40 per cent of the state's population is represented by only 25 per cent of the members of the lower house in the General Assembly.

More than 44 per cent of the total population in Iowa live in the 16 senatorial districts that have cities of over 15,000. The 16 Senators from these districts comprise less than one-third of the Senate. Thus the rural areas on the basis of population are definitely over-represented in both the House and the Senate.

There is little hope of changing this picture, because a constitutional amendment would be necessary. It is not likely that a rural-controlled legislature will ever vote in favor of an amendment that would take representation away from rural areas and give it to the districts with larger cities. Iowa has no provision for initiating constitutional amendments by any method other than passage by two successive General Assemblies; thus, the city areas will probably continue to be under-represented. A constitutional convention is one way that true reapportionment could be accomplished. It must be said, however, in fairness to the rural areas, that the conflict between urban and rural districts has never been as bitter and hostile as it has been in many other state legislatures.

At almost every legislative session some move is made by the Representatives and Senators from the more heavily populated areas to get new rules passed regarding the apportionment of both the Senate and House. Invariably, however, the proposed measures end up without enactment in one committee or another. In 1953 the question of reapportionment was discussed on the floor of the lower house, the first time this has occurred in forty years. The cities do not appear to be overly indignant about this rural domination, and chances of change in the near future are relatively slight.

However, Iowa's representative and senatorial districts appear to be almost perfect when compared with the districting found in many states. In Illinois the cities possess better than 70 per cent of the population yet receive only approximately 30 per cent of the representation in the lower house. Thus on the basis of relativity, Iowa's problem of redistricting senatorial and representative districts appears slight, but the fact that a problem does exist should not be disregarded.

The time of convening the General Assembly in regular session has always been fixed by the state Constitution. The election of members of the General Assembly under the 1846 Constitution occurred in the even-numbered years, and the Assembly met in the odd-numbered years. However, the 1857 Constitution provided for elections in the odd-numbered years

and the convening of the legislature in the even years until 1906, when by constitutional amendment elections were changed back to the even years and the sessions to the odd-numbered years. The sessions are usually about 100 days in length. The shortest ever held was 43 days, the second meeting of the General Assembly in 1848-1849. The longest regular session occurred in 1939, a session of 108 days, a record equalled by the 55th General Assembly in 1953. There is no constitutional limitation on length of sessions in Iowa. In many states the sessions are limited to a certain number of days.⁷

The legislators in the Iowa General Assembly seem to be well satisfied with a biennial session with no restriction on length. In the 1953 session a bill was introduced which would have called for annual sessions, but it received no support and died in committee. While there is a definite tendency on the part of the legislature to attempt to finish the session by the second or third week of April, sessions are not stopped merely because the lawmakers have worked one hundred days. It is highly unlikely that Iowa will adopt an annual session rule for many years to come.

Special or extra sessions are called by executive proclamation. Since 1846 there have been fourteen extra sessions and one "adjourned" session of the General Assembly. The special session to adopt the Code of 1897 lasted longer than any regular session, as it was prolonged for 115 days, but the longest special session was one of the 45th General Assembly, which lasted 128 days. The special or extra sessions ordinarily are completed in from 10 to 15 days. It is obvious from the variation of from 10 to 115 days that there is no limitation upon the length of special sessions, once they have been convened. Likewise, there is no limitation upon the subject matter that may be taken under consideration by the lawmakers after the Governor has called the extraordinary session. However, the General Assembly is powerless to convene itself, once it has adjourned the regular biennial session, so must rely upon the Governor's judgment as to when a special session is necessary. During the depression years Iowa, like many other states, tended to have rather frequent special sessions. However, four of the twelve special sessions in the last 108 years have been held since 1929. The last extraordinary session was called by the Governor in 1947.

⁷ For a list of the times of convening and adjourning and the number of members of each Iowa legislature, 1838-1953, see below, pp. 57-8.

When the General Assembly is ready to adjourn, in either a regular or special session, the custom is for each house to inform the Governor and the other house of its readiness to adjourn. If no agreement seems in the offing, a joint committee is appointed, which proceeds to fix the time of adjournment. Should this process fail, the Governor may step into the breach and set the date for adjournment.

The committee system is one of the most important factors in the organization of the Iowa General Assembly. Ever since the First General Assembly, the committee system has been used extensively.⁸ In the First General Assembly the House had 15 standing committees, while the Senate, a smaller body, had 16. An almost continuous growth in the number of standing committees can be traced. By 1915 the 35th General Assembly had a total of 105 standing committees. The House had 61 and the Senate 44. The Speaker of the House made a total of 861 committee appointments, with each Representative usually on eight committees, as each committees averaged ten members, with the Ways and Means Committee, the Ways and Means and Appropriations, were composed of more than 40 Representatives each. In the Senate the situation was comparable, with the President of the Senate making 471 committee appointments. The committees averaged ten members, with the Ways and Means Committee, the largest, having 31. Each Senator was on at least nine different committees, and just about each Senator was the chairman of some committee.

The trend toward ever increasing numbers of committees reached a high point in the Iowa Senate in 1931, when 51 different standing committees were appointed by the President of the Senate. The largest number of standing committees in the House was in the session of 1911, when 62 were named by the Speaker.

In the 53rd General Assembly, convening in 1949, the House had only 39 standing committees, one of the smallest numbers in recent years. Likewise, the standing committees in the Senate were fewer than the average, with only 35 different committees listed.

The House committee assignments totaled 1,001, with each member averaging nine committee posts. The standing committee with the largest membership, and presumably thereby the most important, was the Appropriations Committee composed of 52 members. The Highways and Roads

⁸ Frank E. Horack, "The Committee System," *Iowa Applied History Series*, 3:535-609.

STANDING COMMITTEES—55TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1953)

<i>House (38)</i>		<i>Senate (36)</i>	
<i>Committee</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Committee</i>	<i>Members</i>
Aeronautics	12	Aeronautics	5
Agriculture I	25	Agriculture	18
Agriculture II	25	Appropriations	24
Appropriations	48	Banks, Building & Loan.....	12
Banks, Building & Loan.....	18	Board of Control.....	11
Board of Control.....	21	Chaplains	1
Cities and Towns	30	Cities and Towns.....	14
Claims	15	Claims	6
Compensation of Public Employees... 20		Compensation of Public Employees... 7	
Conservation, Drainage & Flood		Conservation	14
Control	26	Governmental Affairs	7
Consolidation of State Government... 20		Election Reform	5
Constitutional Amendments	13	Enrolled Bills	2
County & Township Affairs.....	18	Highways	17
Dairy and Food.....	19	Insurance	12
Departmental Affairs	12	Interstate Cooperation	5
Elections, Political & Judicial		Iowa Development	5
Districts	14	Judiciary I	12
Enrolled Bills	7	Judiciary II	9
Fish and Game.....	20	Labor	15
Insurance	20	Manufacturing, Commercial Trade... 7	
Judiciary I	16	Military Affairs	7
Judiciary II	18	Mines & Mining.....	6
Labor	25	Motor Vehicles	12
Military & Veterans Affairs.....	19	Printing	5
Mines & Mining.....	10	Private Corporations	5
Motor Vehicles, Commerce & Trade... 22		Public Health	10
Police Regulation, Suppression of		Public Lands and Buildings.....	3
Crime, and Intemperance.....	25	Public Utilities	3
Printing	6	Public Libraries	3
Private Corporations	15	Railroads	5
Public Health & Pharmacy.....	24	Rules	5
Public Lands & Buildings.....	15	Schools & Educational Institutions... 17	
Public Utilities, Telephone, Telegraph		Social Security	13
& Express	18	Tax Revision	7
Railroads	17	Ways and Means.....	15
Roads & Highways	41		
Rules	8		
Schools, Libraries & State Educ. Inst.. 30			
Social Security	23		
Tax Revision	22		
Ways and Means.....	25		

Committee was nearly as large, with 49 members. Forty members were on the Schools Committee. The Ways and Means Committee was composed of 36 Representatives, as was the Liquor Control and Conservation Committee.⁹

The average size of the standing committees in the Senate during the 53rd General Assembly was 12 members, with 410 appointments on the 35 committees. Each Senator found himself on seven or eight committees. The largest in the Senate was the Ways and Means, with over half the Senators numbered on its membership of 26. Exactly half of the Senators were appointed to the Appropriations Committee, while 24 were on Agriculture, 23 on Schools, 19 on Conservation, 17 on Social Security, and 17 on Cities and Towns.

No appreciable change can be seen since 1900 as to the average size of committees in either the House or Senate. Apparently the members of the General Assembly have always sought as many committee assignments as possible, and each member has been given eight or nine appointments. The conclusions that Professor Hallie Farmer reached concerning the standing committees in the Alabama legislature apply to the Iowa committee system:¹⁰

1. There are too many committees.
2. Many committees are too large.
3. Work is not properly distributed among the committees.
4. The rules of both House and Senate should be revised to provide more effectively for the work of the committees.
5. The committees must have more effective means of acquiring knowledge of the bills upon which they act.

The following table shows the changing numbers of committees in both houses, at ten-year intervals, since 1900:¹¹

	1900	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
House	54	62	61	48	54	39
Senate	39	40	44	51	50	38

In both the Iowa Senate and House there is a great inequality in the dis-

⁹ Ivan Richardson, "Committee Structure of the Iowa General Assembly" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1950).

¹⁰ Hallie Farmer, *The Legislative Process in Alabama* (Univ. of Ala., 1949), 309.

¹¹ For a complete list of all the committees and the number of members on each in the 53rd General Assembly, see list on page 41.

tribution of work among the standing committees. Usually ten of the major committees in the House and eight in the Senate handle more than three-fourths of the bills that are considered by the legislature. Major committees meet three or more times every week, while many of the less important committees hold meetings only once or twice during the entire session.

While the great bulk of the work of the General Assembly is done by the standing committees, certain matters each session demand consideration by committees that dissolve as soon as a single task is completed. Some of the common select committees are those on credentials, to notify the Governor and the other house of a particular action, to prepare memorials, to examine committee clerks, to attend funerals, to investigate particular problems, and to visit the various state institutions. Selection is by appointment of the presiding officers, with the number of members on any one committee indeterminate.

Joint committees are usually select committees composed of members of both houses. A joint committee may be either standing or select. In the early history of the Iowa legislature joint committees were used for more important business than in more recent years, and were frequently standing committees.

A conference committee is in fact two committees—one from each house—appointed for the purpose of discussing points of difference between the two houses when they have come to a disagreement on some proposed legislation. Each house contributes the same number of members. A conference committee may adopt and recommend the action of one house or the other, either as it stands or with amendments; it may recommend a substitute; or, if a deadlock develops, it may on occasion fail to come to any agreement. Such a committee ceases to exist upon the accomplishment or failure of the purpose for which it was created. In the Iowa General Assembly, the joint standing rules govern the action of the conference committees.

During most legislative sessions¹² the House and Senate have utilized "steering committees" whose purpose is to clear the way for the consideration of such bills as are thought to be of major importance. These steering committees, also called "sifting committees," are in reality standing com-

¹² Histories of the legislation of the following General Assemblies have been described in articles published by the State Historical Society of Iowa: 34th through 47th, and the 53rd, 54th, and 55th. All are published in the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, *The Palimpsest*, or as separate monographs.

mittees. They are created after the legislature has been in session for 60 or 70 days. All bills that have not been acted upon by the legislative body are sent to the sifting committee, and only bills that this committee wants considered by the entire body are reported to the floor of the house. Iowa is one of the few states in which the sifting committee has been regularly employed to take charge of the mass of bills that remain undisposed of when the time for adjournment draws near. Its creation might be considered an indictment of the entire legislative procedure.

POWERS

The fundamental principles of constitutional law as related to the status of state governments are fairly well defined and recognized. The state government of Iowa is a constitutional government, republican in form, and has its general principles codified in a written document. The state government emanates from the people and has only the authority that is granted to it by the people of the state. It is a government of general powers,¹³ with its powers curbed by both the Federal Constitution and the Iowa Constitution of 1857.

It is well established that the powers, with the exception of those delegated to the United States Congress or denied the states, are reserved to the people. The people of the state of Iowa, through the adoption of the state Constitution, have created by Article III the state's legislative body, which is granted the legislative authority of the state. The General Assembly is vested with all lawmaking power for the enactment of laws for the regulation of the state, its subdivisions, and its people. It is understood that this legislative authority extends only to the territorial limits of Iowa. It is implied in this legislative grant to the General Assembly that no legislative assembly may bind future legislative bodies by passing irrevocable statutes. Likewise, the General Assembly is forbidden to delegate its legislative powers to any other body or authority. It is assumed that all laws passed are for the public welfare, and all monies appropriated are for public purposes.

Other limitations on the authority of the state legislative powers are those contained in the set provisions that delegate power to the government of

¹³ Benjamin F. Shambaugh, "Law-Making Powers of the Legislature in Iowa," *Iowa Applied History Series*, 3:139-58; Carl H. Erbe, "The Legislative Department as Provided by the Constitution of Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 23: 217-303 (April, 1925).

the United States. Thus any delegation of power of a legislative character given to the United States government is by implication a limitation on the lawmaking authority of the state's General Assembly.

The state legislature cannot exercise powers which are in their nature essentially judicial or executive. It is the function of the legislature to make laws or statutes which serve as rules of civil conduct, and it is not within the province of the General Assembly to construe and apply the law or to decide private disputes between or concerning persons.

A complete statement of the expressed and implied limitations on the legislative powers of the Iowa General Assembly would require nothing less than an enumeration of almost all of the provisions of the Constitution of 1857. However, there are certain definite limitations placed on the legislature as safeguards against certain actions which are regarded as improper.

The Iowa legislature, like many of its counterparts, finds that it is definitely limited in financial matters by the state Constitution. The maximum debt that may be contracted by the state is fixed at \$250,000. Likewise, any bonded indebtedness incurred by the state must be paid off within a period of not more than twenty years, and by serial bonds. The usual limitations concerning taxes are found in the Iowa Constitution: taxes must be uniform and equal upon all property, no matter where it is located in the state. Appropriations must of course be for public purposes, and it is necessary for any appropriation bill to be enacted before any money can be disbursed from the state treasury.

The legislature is *not* permitted to:

1. Grant divorces.
2. Authorize lotteries.
3. Pass local or special laws not of a general nature.
4. Change county seats, or change county boundary lines, without approval of those affected.
5. Grant extra compensation to any public officers, agents, or contractors, after the service is rendered, or the contract entered into.
6. Pass laws violating the rights reserved to the people in the bill of rights of the Constitution.

This list does not include all of the limitations upon the Iowa General Assembly, but it does give some excellent illustrations of the types of acts that are denied the legislature by the Constitution. It is obvious that the Iowa General Assembly is limited by all three types of restrictions commonly

found in state constitutions: (1) prohibiting special or local laws which can be covered by a general law; (2) listing in the constitution subjects which can not be dealt with by the legislature; and (3) requiring that all general laws be of a public nature and operate uniformly throughout the entire state.¹⁴

Legislation that deals with or applies only to a particular section or political subdivision of the state is called local legislation, and is actually a distinctive type of special legislation. The Iowa legislature is forbidden to pass a special law if a general law can be made to apply. With this type of restriction a great many special acts and legalizing acts are passed at every session of the General Assembly. However, the amount of special legislation is not as great as might be expected. The table below shows the number of special and legalizing acts passed by the Iowa legislature at ten-year intervals since 1900:¹⁵

Year	General Laws	Special and Legalizing Laws	Total Laws
1900	174	43	217
1911	213	57	270
1921	341	70	411
1931	263	77	340
1941	314	30	344
1951	226	40	266

The average of general laws to special and legalizing acts has been approximately seven to one over the years. It should be noted that very few of the special bills have in the last thirty years dealt with individuals.

The limitation on local legislation has been avoided in two ways in legislating for cities and towns. One has been the usual classification system according to population. The system has not been extreme, however, as only three classes have ever been used: cities of more than 15,000 population; cities of less than 15,000 but more than 2,000; and towns of less than 2,000 population. The second method of avoiding the restriction on local legislation has been to pass laws which pertain only to cities with the commission form of government, or laws pertaining to cities with the city manager form of government.

¹⁴ W. Brooke Graves, *American State Government* (Boston, 1953), 283-5.

¹⁵ *Session Laws of the Iowa General Assembly, 1900, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951.*

While bills make up a very large percentage of the measures considered by the General Assembly,¹⁶ there are three types of resolutions that must be given some consideration. A simple resolution enacted by the House or Senate applies only to the business of the house in which it originates, and is not sent to the other house for consideration or to the Governor for his signature. Simple resolutions are used largely for three purposes: (1) to express an opinion or sentiment; (2) to issue an administrative order; (3) to make temporary laws. For example, the employees of either house are directed and controlled by simple resolutions; similarly, the publication of rules, the changing of rules, and the like are accomplished by simple resolutions.

Concurrent resolutions express the will of the whole legislative assembly and are voted upon by both houses. Concurrent resolutions are used for joint conventions and sessions, recommendations to the national government, major administrative orders, adjournments, recesses, and joint rules.

The third type of resolution is the joint resolution. This type carries all the formalities of a bill. Joint resolutions are primarily used to propose amendments to the Constitution and to approve plans for such things as new buildings at state institutions. Many times they are also used in place of concurrent resolutions, when there is a desire to express opinion or sentiment.

Bills may be divided into three classes. The first and most important is the public bill. It proposes a statute which acts upon some subject in which the whole state is interested and when enacted adds to the body of the general law. In contrast, a private bill is one that proposes a law for the particular interest and benefit of some person or group of persons. The third type of bill is termed a judicial bill. Its purpose is to settle conflicts between individuals or between the state and individuals.

The structure of bills is more or less uniform, although some are very short, consisting of only a paragraph or two, while others are very long, running into a great many pages. In any case, the basic structure is the same, consisting — normally — of the following parts:¹⁷

1. *Title* — A short statement prefixed to a bill indicating its contents and purpose.

¹⁶ O. K. Patton, "Methods of Statute Law-Making in Iowa," *Iowa Applied History Series*, 3:161-284.

¹⁷ Jacob Van der Zee, "Forms and Language of Statutes in Iowa," *ibid.*, 3:285-396.

2. *Preamble* — The statement by way of introduction, giving the reasons for presenting the bill to the legislature. Relatively few bills now have preambles.
3. *Enacting Clause* — The statement of the enacting authority. The Constitution of 1857 provides that every law shall begin, "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa." A bill without the enacting clause would be unconstitutional.
4. *Purview* — The body of the bill that expresses the legislative will.
5. *Proviso, Saving Clause, Exception* — The sections of the bill which create an exception to the operation of the general expression of the legislative will.
6. *Schedule* — The additions to the bill which contain any matters that cannot be put conveniently into the body of the act.
7. *Publication Clause* — The final part of a great many bills. The Constitution of 1857 provides that all laws of a general nature shall take effect on July 4, unless otherwise provided. Special and local laws become operative thirty days after they are approved by the Governor. If it is desired for the law to take effect before the time provided in the Constitution or by law, the bill has a final clause stating, "This act being deemed of immediate importance shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication" in two newspapers, which are usually named.

Each member of each chamber has the right to present as many bills as he pleases, subject to the rules of the house of which he is a member. Usually the Iowa Senate and House set certain time limits for the introduction of bills by individual members. Often after the first fifty or sixty days of the session, only standing committees may introduce new bills. When a member presents a bill prepared at the request of some constituent, the notation "by request" is usually placed on the bill.

The Iowa General Assembly now follows the rule that the first reading of a bill is for information; if no objection is raised the bill immediately goes to its second reading without further question. The first reading is by title only. After the presiding officer announces the first reading, the reading clerk proceeds to the second reading, which is usually also by title only.

Almost all bills except those that have been drafted by a committee are,

after the formality of the second reading, referred to a committee for further consideration. The commitment of some bills is specifically provided for by the rules of the House and Senate. For example, in the House all bills that appropriate money are referred to the Appropriations Committee, while all bills pertaining to levying, assessing, and collecting taxes are referred to the Ways and Means Committee. Bills are referred to the proper standing committee by the Speaker of the House or the President of the Senate at their discretion. If there is objection to the committee to which the bill is assigned, further discussion of the motion to commit is permitted. The presiding officers will usually accept the suggestion of the member introducing the bill as to which committee shall study the bill. It is relatively infrequent that a special committee will be established for the consideration of a bill.

Committees in the Iowa legislature are given a great deal of freedom in consideration of the bills assigned. Usually after due and careful study of the bill, which may take a few minutes or many days, the committee will make its report through its chairman. The reports usually take one of the following forms: (1) that the bill be passed; (2) that the bill be passed with amendment; (3) reported without recommendation; (4) a substitute bill be passed; (5) that the bill be re-referred to another committee; (6) that the bill be not passed; and (7), that the bill be indefinitely postponed.¹⁸

In every session of the Iowa legislature approximately 50 per cent of the bills referred to a committee are never reported out by the committee. This is commonly called killing a bill by "pidgeonholing" it in the committee.

Many bills come out of committee with the committee's recommendations that certain amendments be added. However, a large number of amendments may also be added from the floor in the general debate on the bill. Occasionally, after amendments have been added, it is necessary to recommit the bill. The same committee that originally studied the bill may reconsider it, or it may be sent to an entirely new committee.

When a bill has been considered on the floor, following its return from committee, and any amendments desired have been added, it is engrossed. This is the procedure wherein all changes that have been adopted on the floor are incorporated into the bill by the engrossing officers. However, it

¹⁸ Ivan L. Pollock, "Some Abuses Connected with Statute Law-Making," *ibid.*, 3:613-87.

is customary at this stage to make the motion that the rules be suspended, the bill considered engrossed, and read a third time. This third reading is ordinarily a reading in full, although frequently by common consent many sections may be omitted in the "full" reading.

Following the third reading, the vote upon the final passage is taken immediately and without further debate. The presiding officer puts the question to a vote without the formality of a motion from the floor. Voting in the House is by means of pressing electrically operated voting machines on each member's desk — the button marked "aye" flashes a green light on the board after the representative's name, while the "nay" button will light a red bulb. In the Senate, vocal voting is still used, and the ayes and nays recorded in the journal. The Constitution of 1857 requires that for a bill to pass it must have the vote of a majority of *all* members. This means that a bill passed by the Senate must receive 26 aye votes, regardless of the number of Senators present on the floor at the time. Similarly, for a bill to pass the House, it must receive a minimum of 55 aye votes. No member can be excused from voting without the consent of the body to which he belongs. Therefore, a member who does not desire to vote on a bill may find it necessary to be absent from the legislative chamber when a vote is imminent.

After a bill is duly passed in one house it is sent by messenger to the other house, where it is dealt with as if it had originated in the receiving house. It is then subjected to the same procedure, namely: (1) first and second reading; (2) commitment; (3) consideration in committee; (4) reported on the floor by the committee chairman with recommendations; (5) consideration on the floor; (6) engrossment and third reading; and (7) vote. When final action is taken in the second house one of three courses of action is usually adopted in regard to the bill. First, the bill may pass in exactly the same form as passed in the originating house; second, it may fail to pass by the required constitutional majority; third, it may pass with amendments. If amendments are adopted, the bill is sent back to the originating house with these amendments added. The originating house will then either concur or nonconcur in the amendments. In the latter case, the bill may be sent to a conference or a joint committee for the purpose of ironing out the differences of opinion between the two houses in connection with the bill.

The report of the conference committee, if it is able to arrive at an agree-

ment, with the compromises believed most suitable, is submitted to each house and a vote taken. If the measure is passed by the necessary constitutional majority it then follows the same procedure as a bill that is agreed upon by both houses without amendments.

Passage by both houses is followed by the enrollment of the bill. It is copied on parchment by the enrolling clerk of the originating house. The caption is now "An Act" instead of "A Bill." Following examination for errors by a joint committee, it is signed by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate in the presence of their respective houses. The signature of the presiding officers constitute the legal authentication of the legislative action.

The bill is next transmitted by the chairman of the committee on enrollment of bills to the Governor, who has several alternatives. If a bill is presented to him before the last three days previous to adjournment, he has a three-day period in which to decide whether to approve or disapprove the bill. If he desires to approve, he signs the enrolled bill with the date of approval. If he does not approve, he returns the bill to the originating house with a veto message. However, if a bill is presented to the Governor during the last three days of a session, he has thirty days in which to file the bill with his approval or objections with the Secretary of State.

The approval or disapproval is noted on the journal of the originating house. If the bill has been vetoed, the house may either reconsider the bill, refer it to a committee, or defer action until some future time. If the bill is voted upon it must receive a two-thirds vote to override the Governor's veto. If it receives this majority it is sent to the other house and considered there. Should it receive a two-thirds vote in the second house it is then sent to the Secretary of State and becomes a law over the veto of the Governor. Likewise, should the Governor retain a bill longer than three days while the legislature is in session the Act becomes law without action by the Governor. The Secretary of State retains the enrolled bill, which is the legal proof of what the legislative action has been in a particular law.

The number of bills introduced in each session of the General Assembly is large. In the 36th General Assembly (1915) 1,279 bills and 35 joint resolutions were introduced. In the 53rd General Assembly (1949) 22 joint resolutions were introduced, while 1,135 bills were thrown into the Senate and House hoppers. Of these 1,135 bills, 524 originated in the Senate, while 611 were introduced in the House. Only 307 of the bills

eventually became law, while 9 of the 22 joint resolutions were passed by both houses. The history of legislation in the Iowa General Assembly reveals that on the average one in three of the bills that are introduced in a legislative session is finally made into law. In 1951 the Iowa General Assembly considered 1,172 measures; of these 650 originated in the House and 522 in the Senate. The legislature enacted into law only 272 bills and joint resolutions. The 55th General Assembly passed 297 acts, one of which was vetoed by the Governor.

*Bills Introduced in General Assembly at Periodic Intervals*¹⁹

Year	House	Senate	Total	Enacted
1913	610	580	1190*	397
1917	631	617	1284*	434
1921	608	529	1137*	411
1929	555	520	1075*	405
1933	620	532	1152*	284
1937	568	542	1110*	283
1949	622	535	1177*	322
1953	536	458	994*	297

*Includes appropriation bills.

There has never been a formal bill drafting department to aid the members of the Iowa General Assembly. Consequently bills are drafted in various ways.²⁰ Some bills are drafted by individual legislators, while others are drawn by committees. Still others are prepared for the legislators by members of the legislative lobby.

Proposals for the establishment of a permanent full-time staff for bill drafting have always met with objections or postponement. The committee on hiring joint personnel selects a small group, usually lawyers, who are retained as a part-time bill drafting group for each session. These temporary assistants maintain offices in the State Law Library and assist individual legislators and committees in the actual drafting of bills when requested to do so. The State Library has a collection of books known as the Law Library, consisting mainly of statutes, codes, and law reports of the states of the Union, which is placed at the disposal of the legislators. There can be no doubt that the Iowa General Assembly could well use a permanent staff to assist the legislators in their bill drafting efforts.

¹⁹ Figures compiled from *House and Senate Journals*, *Session Laws*, and reviews of various sessions of the Iowa General Assembly, 1913-1953.

²⁰ Jacob Van der Zee, "The Drafting of Statutes," *Iowa Applied History Series*, 3:475-531; Van der Zee, "Forms and Language of Statutes in Iowa," 287-395.

An Interim or Budget Committee is appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House at the conclusion of the regular session of the legislature. It continues to function until the beginning of the next General Assembly, and usually consists of four Representatives and four Senators. The group organizes and selects one of its number as chairman. The members are semi-ex officio, as they usually include the chairmen of the committees on Ways and Means, Judiciary, and Appropriations. It is in a way Iowa's substitute for a legislative council. One of its main activities is the approval of specifications, contracts, and claims. However, probably the most important role of the Interim or Budget Committee is in connection with its control of the contingent fund which usually includes from \$300,000 to \$500,000 for each year of the biennium.

The Committee allocates funds to the various state governmental activities for "the public interest and an efficient and economical administration of the affairs of the state." Seldom does a year pass that the Committee does not receive requests from each of the state institutions for funds out of the contingent fund. Each request is investigated by the committee and then a ruling made on whether or not the money requested will be allocated. In summary, it may be said that the Interim Committee completes some of the emergency work that the General Assembly did not find time to finish. However, the Committee does not have the power to draw up a proposed agenda for the next General Assembly, as do most legislative councils.

There has never been any concerted effort to have a legislative council formed in Iowa. However, there is a possibility that in the future Iowa may turn to the legislative council, for in both the 53rd and 55th General Assemblies bills that would have created such a council received attention but were not given favorable action by the legislators. The 55th General Assembly, like previous Assemblies, refused to approve of a legislative council.

The exact amount of influence on the General Assembly exerted by the lobbyists is impossible to determine. It is undenied that there is now and has been considerable lobbying in the Iowa legislature.²¹ One of the earliest lobby groups was maintained by citizens from Des Moines, when the 5th General Assembly (1854) was debating where to move the state capital. The success of the lobby is apparent: the General Assembly determined that Des Moines should be the permanent home of the state capital.

²¹ Pollock, "Some Abuses Connected with Statute Law-Making," 631-9.

The first official recognition of the problem of lobbyists occurred in 1878, when a bill was proposed to define corrupt solicitation of the legislators and to prescribe a penalty for the illegal action. The first action to keep lobbyists from the floor of the General Assembly was taken in 1904 when the sergeants-at-arms were so instructed. The rules of both the Senate and the House since 1906 have excluded lobbyists from the floors of the two chambers.

A House rule adopted in the 53rd General Assembly of 1949 requires "any person lobbying or attempting to influence legislation, who receives compensation or anything of value therefor, including any state employee who attempts to influence legislation, shall register his name and address, his company, firm or cause for which he is lobbying, with the chief clerk of the House." This rule, while not requiring the lobbyist to state his salary, did require more than 168 people to register during the 53rd General Assembly's regular session. This means that there are often more lobbyists than there are members of the legislature.

Many of the lobbyists undoubtedly received more compensation for their time in Des Moines than did the members of the legislature. There were over 100 different interest groups on the chief clerk's register. Included were such organizations as the Iowa League of Municipalities, Iowa League of Women Voters, Iowa Association of School Boards, Iowa State Educational Association, Iowa Farm Bureau, etc. In the past, some of the most influential lobbies have been those sponsored by school textbook publishers, bridge construction companies, public utility concerns, and the railroads.

All of the lobby groups operate essentially alike. Every lobbyist attempts to know personally as many members of the legislature as possible. Each new member is given particular attention by the various lobby organizations. Almost every night during the legislative session some pressure group entertains members of the legislature at a dinner party. Any service that they can render to individual legislators in the way of facts and figures is given. Frequently the lobbyist will draft proposed legislation and offer it to a member of the legislature. The success or failure of an individual lobbyist is probably judged by whether or not he was able to secure the passage of measures that his particular group desired or whether or not he was able to block the passage of legislation that his group had determined to be harmful to their cause.

A very questionable lobbyist activity came to light in the 1953 session of

the Iowa legislature, when at least one member of the General Assembly prepared legislation for a particular pressure group before the opening of the session. No formal charge on this action was taken, but much speculation has occurred as to the moral principles involved.

The Iowa legislature and its legislative procedures are deficient in at least six of the twelve recommendations made by the Council of State Governments in its 1948 revised report.²² The terms of the members of the legislature should probably be lengthened, with staggered terms for both members of the Senate and the House. Terms of six years for the Senate and four years for the House would be a forward step in maintaining a continuity of experienced legislative leadership. Likewise, skilled full-time legislative employees should be appointed according to merit and not according to political affiliation. The third major recommendation which should be given very serious consideration in Iowa concerns the legislative committee system. There can be no doubt that the number of committees and the number of members on the committees could be materially reduced in both the House and Senate. The distribution of bills to the committees needs to be standardized so that all of the standing committees have work instead of a small number of the committees being overburdened. More attention to public hearings on important items of legislation would be valuable. Inadequate space for hearings and for both individual and committee work by the members of the legislature constitutes another problem that remains to be solved. Iowa is lagging far behind most of the states in regard to the inadequate reference, research, and bill drafting services given to the members of the legislature. Progress would be made in this area if the General Assembly created a legislative council. Thirty of the forty-eight states have legislative councils, yet Iowa has not yet recognized this need.²³

To summarize, the efficiency of the Iowa legislature could probably be improved by several changes in both organization and procedure. Basic to improvement is the need for reapportionment of at least one of the two houses. The House, with 108 members, should not be increased in size; rather, it could be reduced to 99 members by giving each county in the state one Representative. On the other hand, the Senate of 50 members is of a workable size, although it is the largest state Senate in the United States.

²² Council of State Governments, *Report of Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedure* (Chicago, 1948).

²³ *Book of the States, 1952-53* (Chicago, 1952), 122.

Reapportionment in the Senate might be made on the basis of population, with each Senator representing as nearly as possible an equal number of constituents. This would mean that a county such as Polk would have four Senators, while as many as four or five of the less populous counties could be joined into one senatorial district.

Other changes have been touched upon. There are too many committees, and they are too large. The same number and type in each house would simplify the work, and conference committees could then be made up of members who have been working on the legislation previously. A committee system with not more than twelve committees operating in each house would seem to be adequate.

Although there is no legal limitation on the length of the legislative session, a tradition of 100 days has grown up. This is often not adequate. One way to break this tradition would be to increase the compensation of members, many of whom have to make a financial sacrifice in order to serve the state. Annual instead of biennial sessions have been suggested but not approved. Very few states, except such large ones as New York, Illinois, and California, have annual sessions of their legislatures.

The Iowa General Assembly has a long history of hard work and integrity. It is composed of 158 men and women working for the welfare of the state, and its record will compare favorably with that of every other state in the union.

DATES AND MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF IOWA,
1838-1953

Legislative Assembly

<i>Number</i>	<i>Convened</i>	<i>Adjourned</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>House</i>
1	Nov. 12, 1838	Jan. 25, 1839	13	26
2 (regular)	Nov. 4, 1839	Jan. 17, 1840	13	26
2 (extra)	July 13, 1840	Aug. 2, 1840	13	26
3	Nov. 2, 1840	Jan. 15, 1841	13	26
4	Dec. 6, 1841	Feb. 18, 1842	13	26
5	Dec. 5, 1842	Feb. 17, 1843	13	26
6 (regular)	Dec. 4, 1843	Feb. 16, 1844	13	26
6 (extra)	June 16, 1844	June 20, 1844	13	26
7	May 5, 1845	June 11, 1845	13	26
8	Dec. 1, 1845	Jan. 19, 1846	13	26

General Assembly

			<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>
1 (regular)	Nov. 30, 1846	Feb. 25, 1847	19	39
1 (extra)	Jan. 3, 1848	Jan. 25, 1848	19	39
2	Dec. 4, 1848	Jan. 15, 1849	19	39
3	Dec. 2, 1850	Feb. 5, 1851	19	39
4	Dec. 6, 1852	Jan. 24, 1853	30	63
5 (regular)	Dec. 4, 1854	Jan. 25, 1855	30	70
5 (extra)	July 2, 1856	July 15, 1856	30	70
6	Dec. 1, 1856	Jan. 29, 1857	33	72
7	Jan. 11, 1858	Mar. 23, 1858	35	72
8 (regular)	Jan. 11, 1860	Apr. 2, 1860	43	86
8 (extra)	May 15, 1861	May 29, 1861	43	86
9 (regular)	Jan. 13, 1862	Apr. 8, 1862	46	94
9 (extra)	Sept. 3, 1862	Sept. 11, 1862	46	94
10	Jan. 11, 1864	Mar. 29, 1864	46	90
11	Jan. 8, 1866	Apr. 3, 1866	48	98
12	Jan. 13, 1868	Apr. 8, 1868	49	99
13	Jan. 10, 1870	Apr. 13, 1870	50	100
14 (regular)	Jan. 8, 1872	Apr. 23, 1872	50	100
14 (adjourned)	Jan. 15, 1873	Feb. 20, 1873	50	100
15	Jan. 12, 1874	Mar. 19, 1874	50	100
16	Jan. 10, 1876	Mar. 16, 1876	50	100
17	Jan. 14, 1878	Mar. 26, 1878	50	100
18	Jan. 12, 1880	Mar. 27, 1880	50	100
19	Jan. 9, 1882	Mar. 17, 1882	50	100
20	Jan. 14, 1884	Apr. 2, 1884	50	100
21	Jan. 11, 1886	Apr. 13, 1886	50	100
22	Jan. 9, 1888	Apr. 10, 1888	50	100

<i>Number</i>	<i>Convened</i>	<i>Adjourned</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>
23	Jan. 13, 1890	Apr. 15, 1890	50	100
24	Jan. 11, 1892	Mar. 30, 1892	50	100
25	Jan. 8, 1894	Apr. 6, 1894	50	100
26 (regular)	Jan. 9, 1896	Apr. 11, 1896	50	100
26 (extra)	Jan. 19, 1897	July 1, 1897	50	100
27	Jan. 10, 1898	Apr. 1, 1898	50	100
28	Jan. 8, 1900	Apr. 6, 1900	50	100
29	Jan. 13, 1902	Apr. 11, 1902	50	100
30	Jan. 11, 1904	Apr. 12, 1904	50	100
31	Jan. 8, 1906	Apr. 6, 1906	50	108
32 (regular)	Jan. 14, 1907	Apr. 9, 1907	(number of members not changed since this date)	
32 (extra)	Aug. 31, 1908	Nov. 24, 1908*		
33	Jan. 11, 1909	Apr. 9, 1909		
34	Jan. 9, 1911	Apr. 12, 1911		
35	Jan. 13, 1913	Apr. 19, 1913		
36	Jan. 11, 1915	Apr. 17, 1915		
37	Jan. 8, 1917	Apr. 14, 1917		
38	Jan. 13, 1919	Apr. 19, 1919		
39	Jan. 10, 1921	Apr. 8, 1921		
40 (regular)	Jan. 8, 1923	Apr. 17, 1923		
40 (extra)	Dec. 4, 1923	July 24, 1924**		
41	Jan. 12, 1925	Apr. 3, 1925		
42 (regular)	Jan. 10, 1927	Apr. 15, 1927		
42 (extra)	Mar. 5, 1928	Mar. 14, 1928		
43	Jan. 14, 1929	Apr. 12, 1929		
44	Jan. 12, 1931	Apr. 15, 1931		
45 (regular)	Jan. 9, 1933	Apr. 20, 1933		
45 (extra)	Nov. 6, 1933	Mar. 12, 1934		
46 (regular)	Jan. 14, 1935	Apr. 23, 1935		
46 (extra)	Dec. 21, 1936	Dec. 24, 1936		
47	Jan. 11, 1937	Apr. 20, 1937		
48	Jan. 9, 1939	Apr. 26, 1939		
49	Jan. 13, 1941	Apr. 10, 1941		
50 (regular)	Jan. 11, 1943	Apr. 8, 1943		
50 (extra)	Jan. 26, 1944	Jan. 28, 1944		
51	Jan. 8, 1945	Apr. 12, 1945		
52 (regular)	Jan. 13, 1947	Apr. 25, 1947		
52 (extra)	Dec. 16, 1947	Dec. 19, 1947		
53	Jan. 10, 1949	Apr. 20, 1949		
54	Jan. 8, 1951	Apr. 17, 1951		
55	Jan. 12, 1953	Apr. 29, 1953		

*Recessed Sept. 10-Nov. 24, 1908. Reconvened and adjourned on Nov. 24, 1908.

**Recessed April 26-July 22, 1924.

DOCUMENT

A COMMISSARY IN THE UNION ARMY: LETTERS OF C. C. CARPENTER

*Edited by Mildred Throne**

Among the papers of Cyrus Clay Carpenter, governor of Iowa from 1872 to 1876, are many letters written while he was serving as Commissary of Subsistence with the Union Army during the Civil War. Carpenter had emigrated to Iowa from Ohio in 1854 and had settled at Fort Dodge. A surveyor and land agent, he had from the first been active in politics and had served one term in the legislature as representative.¹ When the war broke out he was at Pike's Peak, vainly searching for gold. He at once wrote to Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood and offered his services in any capacity, but the governor replied that he then had more applicants than the government could use. Determined to get into the fight, but preferring some sort of commission to enlistment as a private (Carpenter was then thirty-two years of age), he next wrote to three of the members of Iowa's delegation in Washington — Senators James Harlan and James W. Grimes and Representative James Wilson — and asked them to set the appointment wheels in motion. Meanwhile, he packed up his goods and set out for Fort Dodge, arriving there in November of 1861.

In January he at last received a commission — that of "Commissary of Subsistence" with the rank of captain.² Carpenter served from April of 1862 until the close of the war. His letters to his fiancée (later his wife), Kate Burkholder, and to his brothers, Emmett in Fort Dodge and Judd in California, tell not so much the details of fighting and battles, but rather of the life of the common soldier as Carpenter saw it from his vantage point behind the lines. The letters also give some account of the problems of the

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¹ See Mildred Throne, "C. C. Carpenter in the 1858 Iowa Legislature," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:31-60 (January, 1954).

² James Wilson to Carpenter, Jan. 18, 1862, *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa).

commissaries, whose job it was to see that the soldiers were fed. With no experience at all, and with the aid of civilian clerks equally untrained, Carpenter had to learn his job almost in the midst of battle. Entering the service shortly after the battle of Shiloh, he was assigned to the Army of the Mississippi under General John Pope, with headquarters at Hamburg, Tennessee.

Under the command of General Henry W. Halleck, three armies were moving from the Tennessee River west toward Corinth, where the Confederate forces had gathered. On the right was Major-General George H. Thomas with the Army of the Tennessee; in the center, Don Carlos Buell and his Army of the Ohio; on the left, Pope and his Army of the Mississippi. Second in command, under Halleck, was General Ulysses S. Grant.³

Such was the situation in the West when the novice, C. C. Carpenter, joined Pope to take up the task of issuing supplies to an army of some 30,000 men. Carpenter's letters cover the next three years of the war, from Corinth to Atlanta to Savannah and finally to Washington and the Grand Review. Now and then he found time to write long letters to the *Des Moines Register*, and several of these letters have been included, as they give more detail than his personal letters to his family.

[To Emmett Carpenter, from St. Louis, Apr. 24, 1862]

I arrived here night before last and should have left for Tennessee Pittsburg Landing last night, if I had not been waiting to see a man here who they advised me to hire as clerk. The two commissaries in this city and one or two other officers advised me to hire a clerk for a while who knew something about the business. As they tell me it is very complicated and there are very long monthly and quarterly reports to make out but most clerks do not like the idea of going into the field as it is such hard work.

. . .

[To Judd Carpenter, from Hamburg, Tenn., May 11, 1862]

. . . I keep the supply Depot of Provision for Gen Popes Army so you see all the Provision stores to feed 32,000 men pass thro my hands. This gives me business sufficient to keep me from dying of *Ennui*. But I tell you Judd I have seen enough of war to satisfy my curiosity. It makes me shud-

³ *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:371-2.

der barely to think of the waste of life the loss of health and the destruction of Property in which this war must result. . . . I was authorized by the war department to employ one civilian as clerk at \$75 per month. . . . It is a very hard life I frequently have to be up issuing provision writing and figuring all night. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Hamburg, May 18, 1862]

I have good health ever since I came here and think I have great reason to be thankful, so many are getting sick during this intensely hot weather. I work early and late and the hot weather does not seem to melt me down as it does very many it beats all how many are getting sick in the army. The Hospital is just about a quarter of a mile back from my camp and the boats to carry off the sick land right in front of where I stay. And it does seem as tho' there was a continual line of the sick extending from the lines at Corinth 20 miles west of here to the Hospital Landing. Poor fellows come along the road with a Snail like pace, fairly staggering from weakness and exhaustion, and halting ask "how far it is to the Hospital?" It looks to see the poor fellows crawling down the Bank towards the Boats as it must have looked in olden times to see the diseased in Jerusalem going down to the pool of Liboam. How much these poor fellows suffer. Most of the Hospital Boats that come here from St Louis Cincinnati &c are furnished with Kind and good nurses. And among them all most conspicuous laborious and praiseworthy, I notice the Catholic Sisters of Charity . . . with their dark and somber looking gowns, wide white collars, and heavy crosses, bending down from the bows of a boat to take a sick ragged and coarse soldier by the hand and help him to a clean cot. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Hamburg, May 18, 1862]

. . . I have not been out on the lines for several days. I have never been out to Gen Popes lines or seen the Gen tho I supply his army with grub. They say he is a very irritable excitable man. . . . it beats all how these Sergeants and private soldiers do have to work. There has to [be] a large detail come in from each regiment of the army every day to get the provision out 17 miles and they work in the dust & hot sun all day and frequently drive all night. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Hamburg, May 25, 1862]

It is singular how *fortune has favored me*. I already do the largest business of any commissary along the River and there must be an hundred of

them. I have had Gen Popes whole army to issue to and reinforcements have been continually added until it must amount to 40,000 men. To-day Gen Jeff C Davis with his division and Gen Asboth⁴ with his Division loaded right before my door and as they marched away the ragged dirty fellows were no mean sight. I have been running and working to unload three Steam Boats and have just got thro' with two. I have sent out on the road towards Corinth within the last two days over 100,000 Rations which makes over 300,000 pounds. To-day when I hoped I was nearly thro' 600 teams came in from Gen W T Sherman⁵ with an order from Gen Sherman for me to issue to them. I did not know what to do. I just told them I was to supply Gen Popes army but they said they had no other place to go. So I went down to see Capt. Hawkins chief com[missary] on Hallecks staff and he laughed as soon as I came in. He has the General superintendence of the Com's of the Department. I asked him if it was his order that I should feed Gen Shermans army? Well said he "Captain they had to go some where and I know I am giving you a great deal of work but you must keep up your spirits" I told him I would do it and left Pen ink and words will not describe the "confusion confounded" that surrounds me. I have just been fixing out the 21st Ill that landed without any thing to eat.

...

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Hamburg, May 30, 1862]

... News has come in this morning that Corinth has been [taken] altho it scarcely appears possible yet it may all be true.⁶ If such should prove to be the case I presume I shall be ordered away from here in a few days. There will be work! work! work! night and day. To give you a faint idea of it I will tell you what I will have to do. I shall have to Invoice and load over 400 bbls Beans 500 bbls Peas over 100 Tierces of Rice besides about a 1000 hundred pound sacks. And Pork Bacon Hams Mess Beef Coffee Sugar Potatoes &c &c in proportion. Besides this over 3000 bbls and boxes of Hard Bread weighing about an hundred pounds apiece. When I am ordered to load up and start, all I shall know about it will be this:

⁴ Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis, in command of the 4th Division under Pope; Alexander Asboth, in command of the 5th Division. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* . . . (Des Moines, 1908), 478.

⁵ At this time Sherman was in command of the fifth division of the Army of the Tennessee.

⁶ Corinth was evacuated by the Confederate troops on May 29th; Halleck moved into the city on May 30, 1862. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:380.

Captain:

You are ordered to take the public property in your possession and report yourself [to] Gen Pope at Memphis

Very Respectfully sir

Your obedient servant

J. P. Hawkins

Chief Comm

Army Before Corinth

Capt. C. C. Carpenter

Hamburg

Tenn

I give you this specimen of an order to show you how a fellow is moved at the beck and nod of his superiors. When this order comes if it should come you can imagine [sic] how night and day it would be work! work! until the invoices were made &c &c. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Hamburg, June 13, 1862]

. . . You cannot imagine the wear and tear of intellect it gives a man to work the way I do with so much responsibility and the few conveniences I have for doing it. The immense amount of Commissary stores I have are out on the ground liable to be stolen spoiled by rains &c &c. I cannot inform you of the difficulties I have to contend with. I have done more business than any other Commissary on the River or any other two and have fewer clerks to do it with. You will see in Harpers Weekly for May 31st the Picture of the big building I occupy in the Picture entitled Hallecks depot Commissary. . . .⁷

[To Kate Burkholder, from Hamburg, June 28, 1862]

. . . I expect to be ordered away from this post which I have so long filled in a few days. I am receiving no more goods here and trains are being organized to haul away even that I have. Where I shall be transferred is more than I know. I hope not to any worse place than this. The Hospital here is being broken up and the patients taken away on boats to a more northern clime and [I] tell you they go joyfully. Gen Rosencrans [Rosecrans] now commands the army formally [sic] under Pope. . . .⁸

⁷ This picture has been reproduced on the cover of this issue of the JOURNAL.

⁸ On June 26, 1862, Pope was transferred to the East and given command of the newly-constituted Army of Virginia. He was succeeded in the Army of the Mississippi by W. S. Rosecrans. Dyer, *Compendium*, 349, 476.

[To Judd Carpenter, from Hamburg, June 30, 1862]

. . . I have a great deal of business on my hands and have had ever since I came here. But the R R from Memphis to Corinth is now nearly complete when the navigation of the Tenn River will be abandoned for the purpose of supplying the army and stores will thereafter come thro' by Rail from Memphis. My stock is being removed from here and I expect I will shortly be removed and where I shall be sent of course I cannot say. . . .⁹

[To Kate Burkholder, from Hamburg, July 4, 1862]

. . . I do not think much of Gen Pope as a man yet I consider him a good General. . . . Gen Rosencrans now commands the "Army of the Mississippi." . . . I never saw Gen Pope and have not seen Gen Rosencrans or at least never saw either one to know them, tho' I like Gen Rosencrans style as a man better than Pope. Gen Pope used to send such overbearing letters to me and tell the soldiers if I did not do so and so in issuing provision to them and get such and such supplies he would "fix me" that I got to heartily hate him.¹⁰ Gen Rosencrans always writes to me kindly and asks me if it will be possible for me to procure such and such stores. . . . The army of Rebels in the Miss Valley is broken up and dispersed the war henceforth here will be of the Guerilla and Spanish kind and I think will not last long. I hope it may not. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Iuka, Miss., Aug. 4, 1862]

. . . This is a town situated on the Memphis and Charleston Rail Road about midway between Corinth and Tuscumbia in Ala. There is a regiment the 27th Ill Vols Infantry Beebees Wis Battery and a Battalion [sic] of Cav[alry] stationed at this point to guard the Rail Road. I furnish these besides getting supplies forward from Eastport on the Tenn River about 8 miles from here and sending them forward to Gen Paines¹¹ Div at Tuscumbia. I do not have as much hard work to do as I had at Hamburg but

⁹ On July 24 Carpenter was ordered to "proceed to Iuka and relieve commissary in charge of Stores there. . . ." Special Order No. 189, signed by Rosecrans, July 24, 1862, *Carpenter Papers*.

¹⁰ "Pope . . . was pugnacious and confident and conceited. Part of the reputation he had won in the West was the result of his own boasting about his triumphs and the publicity he got from newspaper reporters attached to his headquarters." T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals* (New York, 1952), 120.

¹¹ E. A. Paine commanded the first division of the Army of the Mississippi. Dyer, *Compendium*, 476.

still am busy. . . . I wonder how Bart [Kate's brother] gets along under the most wicked profane and overbearing old scallawag in the army [Pope]. I hope Halleck and McClellan¹² will control things or I shall expect to hear Gen Pope has led his army into some nest of traitors and had the last man of them killed. Gen Rosecrans is a perfect Gentleman and a true soldier. I went to see him two or three times to get instruction about my position up here before I came. . . . Nine tenths of the officers in the army do not care any more for the principle at stake than a savage cares about the Bible and such a laxity of all moral restraint in money matters among officials makes me sometimes doubt the existence of all good. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Iuka, Aug. 29, 1862]

. . . I have been very busy, there has not been a moment in the day but what some person has stood at my elbow to ask me a question. "Captain can I buy some whiskey of you for the use of the officers of the 43d Ohio?" "Captain I am a poor woman without a mouthful of Bread in my house have'nt tasted Bread for a week Can I get a little flour from you?" "Captain I had a nigger run away last night I am [a] poor widow dont you think he is among those you have here?" "Captain can the 63d Ohio draw full rations here to-morrow?" "Captain the slaughter yard is moved; where do we get Fresh Beef?" . . .

They talk about the assistance of the Negroes up north as tho there was any courage or [illegible] in a darkie. One man with a horse whip would put ten thousand of them to flight. They dont want to be set at liberty. A Negro slave with his wife & children is attached to the plantation upon which he was born he had rather be a slave a thousand times than surrender one local attachment. About three days ago I had 21 turned over to me who were taken from plantations up in Ala and to-day after working three days they have begged me half the day to give them passes to go home some forty miles. I told them if they went they better stay and never show me their faces again. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Iuka, Aug. 31, 1862]

. . . When I left Hamburg Gen Rosecrans' Head Quarters were about 4 miles from Corinth. I was ordered here and commenced trying to arrange

¹² On July 11, 1862, Lincoln had appointed Henry W. Halleck "general-in-chief" of the Union armies, a post which George B. McClellan, now in command of the Army of the Potomac, had vacated on March 11, 1862. Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals*, 135; Dyer, *Compendium*, 254, 255.

and systematize trains to run between here and Eastport 7 miles from here on the Tennessee River and a good landing for Steamboats. . . . Iuka is on the R Road and as it is only 7 miles from the River and as I have been ordered to build a large store House which I now have nearly completed having over a hundred contrabands [Negroes] to work upon it I am inclined to believe that this point is to be the Base of future operations to the south. You know we have to depend much upon River Transportation as the R R cannot begin to supply the army. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Iuka, Sept. 3, 1862]

. . . I have faith in Stanton faith in Halleck and faith in Lincoln and still greater faith in the strong patriotism in the Loyal North. But few of us have yet risen to the conception of the giant strength of this Rebellion. . . . I would resign and come home to-day if I could do so with credit. I am disgusted with the whole institution one would think that in the present perilous position of our country all a soldier would care for, would be to help save the Government. But every man from highest to lowest with few and those *very few*, exceptions, seems to think this is a great money-making institution. Stealing and the most heinous rascality is so common and so patent [*sic*] that I shudder for my country. I thank God that I have no desire to make a cent more than belongs to me tho' I am frequently asked why dont you do so and so others are stealing and you being a Com Sub will place you in the category of Scoundrels whether you take the benefits or not. I pity the poor privates and only wish one half the officers were hung & many of them made officers. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Iuka, Sept. 4, 1862]

. . . I was sent here to establish a Port for the purpose of forwarding supplies along the line of R R as far east as Decatur. In carrying out my instructions I have brought forward from Eastport large supplies to this place. I now have on hand over 800 Barrels of Flour over a 1000 Boxes of Pilot Bread [hardtack], 500 Barrels of Pork, 200 Bbls of Mess Beef, 100 casks each of Bacon Ham and Shoulders, 300 Barrels of Salt, 200 Bbls of Sugar, 25 Bbls each of Beans & Peas, 100 Bbls of Rice 300 Bbls of Hominy, 50 Bbls of Roasted Coffee, 200 Sacks of Green Coffee, 50 half chests of Tea, 50 Bbls of Molasses 150 Bbls of Desicated¹³ Potatoes, 100 Boxes of

¹³ The "desicated" or dried potatoes and vegetables were so unpalatable that the soldiers referred to them as "desecrated." See Mildred Throne (ed.), *The Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, 1861-1863* (Iowa City, 1953), 53.

Desicated Mixed Vegetables, and other things required for Hospitals &c &c besides several and sundry Bbls of Whiskey. For a Store House I took the largest Store in town driving out the owner — a merchant — who occupied it. It stood within about 60 feet of the R. R. It is 60 feet long 2 Stories high with a cellar under neath the whole length and including a leanto on one side (which I have full of flour) is 45 feet wide. This I filled from Cellar to Garret until the timbers cracked with the weight upon them. Then I have built beside it between it and the R R a shed 80 feet long and 40 feet wide, built by cutting forks in the woods, planting them in the ground, putting up pole rafters, and covering it with Tar-paulins. Well yesterday while I was down under my shed ordering and commanding about 25 negroes about piling up my things, under the shed, two trains passed by from Tuscumbia loaded with Commissary Stores and went right forward to Corinth. It soon flashed upon my mind, that we were about to abandon the R R between Tuscumbia and Chattanooga and not unlikely all the way from Corinth to Chattanooga; which will necessitate my picking up my few articles and falling back to Corinth. . . .

[To Capt. S. Simmons, Chief Comm. Sub., Army of the Mississippi,
from Corinth, Sept. 17, 1862]¹⁴

Captain:

In compliance with the Order to Gen Rosecrans Commanding Army of Miss I have the honor to report what came under my observation in connection with the evacuation of Iuka by the Federal Forces. On the morning of Saturday the 13th while superintending a party of contrabands engaged in rolling subsistence stores from the House occupied as a commissary Building to the R R preparatory to loading them on a train of cars there mentorilly [*sic.* momentarily] expected, firing commenced in the timber a little East of South of the Town, & continued at short intervals. I should judge, for half an hour, this, with a few shots immediately after 12 M nearly East of the Town and apparently in the vicinity of the R R was all the firing heard by me on Saturday; the Subsistence Stores I then had in charge at Iuka as nearly as I can recollect will approximate to the Invoice attached. By your assistance nearly all the stores included in the statement

¹⁴ This is a rough draft of Carpenter's report on the evacuation of Iuka. Confederate forces under Van Dorn and Price moved into Iuka on Sept. 13, before Grant could gather his scattered forces to resist. Iuka was retaken by the Union forces in a sharp battle on Sept. 19. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:404-413.

attached were delivered beside the R R Track ready for loading when the train arrived. Altho' the train did not arrive of [sic, on] Saturday it was still thought we should hold the place at least until it did arrive. About 11 or 12 o'clock at night however I heard the wagon train moving rapidly thro' the town and on the Corinth Road. I still thought this a simple move of prudence to be ready for retreat in case of a reverse. In a short time however I saw the ambulances moving out which I thought appeared like retreat. I had never had the most distant apprehension of our forces taking such a hasty step and was left without the means of transportation to get away my personal effects or my papers containing all the record of my business in the C S Dept. I at once agreed with my two clerks and Mr John A. Robison of the U S Army Bakery that we must try to impress teams to get away with. This I left entirely to them as I was anxious to make every arrangement possible to destroy the stores on hand and prevent their falling into the enemies hands; which I knew would be difficult as they were removed from the building and scattered over much ground along the R R. What efforts were made to destroy them, the agreement of the Captain commanding the Battallion [sic] of Cavalry¹⁵ to halt in columns and assist in firing them, the fact of his saying they were not to be fired until the forces had gone some time and his Battallion was called in, the fact that the Cavalry afterwards rode thro town without halting or looking back, thus rendering it impossible to destroy them is all well known to yourself as you were present and actively engaged in trying to prepare them to be fired. I saw several teams left in the rear of the command either from having tired out, or the wagon having broken down, but as I had taken no notice of the teams impressed by my friends which were to take away my effects I did not know whether my things were on them or not. Near Burnsville I came up with our main forces halting in a field when I found the wagon loaded with my papers had not come up. I went back some distance and found it behind a creek. The Bridge had been destroyed by the

¹⁵ The 8th Wisconsin Cavalry, under command of Colonel (not Captain as Carpenter says) Robert C. Murphy, had been left to guard the stores at Iuka. Murphy's failure to destroy the stores before leaving was severely criticized by Rosecrans but excused by Grant "on the ground of inexperience in military matters." However, when two months later Murphy allowed himself and the 1,500 men under him to be captured at Holly Springs (in spite of warnings of the approach of the Confederates) Grant dismissed him from the service for "cowardly and disgraceful conduct." Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:434; *The War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records* (Washington, 1886), Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 516.

Cavalry, rendering it impossible without help and delay to get over and as the timber on both sides [of] the road was declared to be infested with Guerrillas I was obliged to abandon the wagon and its load. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter from Burnsville, Miss., Sept. 20, 1862]

. . . Last Sunday morning I left Iuka on a march to Corinth under what circumstances and with what success you have probably learned from other sources. On last Wednesday there was a general movement toward Iuka of all the forces under Grant Ord and Rosecrans with what success you will learn before this will reach you. . . . I came up here the day after the movement commenced in charge of 40,000 Rations and 120 head of Beef Cattle for Gen Rosecrans Army and on arrival here found he had gone several miles to the right. I had not been here more than five minutes and was making inquiries about means of communication with the "Army of the Miss" when Gen Grant sent an order to me to open out here and issue to his army and here I have been for the last two days and a half. At first I came alone expecting simply to turn over the Rations of which I was in charge in Bulk and return for more but when Gen Grant placed me in charge of the whole thing at the H'd Q's of the whole army I telegraphed for Welles [his clerk] who came up last night before that, the first day I run the thing alone turning out things to the Hungry soldiers haphazard [sic] without stopping to weigh or even guess at weights but yesterday two soldiers were detailed to assist me, and to-day Welles is here. There is so much confusion reigning on every side of me that I have not time to think or answer your letter. . . . At some future time I will try to describe as far as English language is capable the retreat from Iuka to Corinth. Negroes old and young crowded both sides of the road and hung screaming and crying upon the rear of our retreating forces. I passed about 4 miles out from Iuka two little Negro children whom their mother had dropped in her scared and hasty flight and left to the tender mercies of the forest and the Rebellion. I gave them a hard cracker from my pocket and lied to the little fellows by telling them friends would soon come and take care of them but I was then two miles in the rear of our army and could do nothing for them. Poor soldiers dropped by the wayside from exhaustion and no kind hand picked them up and cared for them. We moved in a cloud of dust which so affected my eyes that I was nearly blind for two days. . . . All my papers letters and everything else I had fell into the hands of the Rebels.

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Corinth, Sept. 28, 1862]

. . . Gen Rosecrans is a devoted Catholic himself, the day before Iuka battle he had the mass in his tent, a priest always being with him, and accompanying him upon the battle field. He is one of the best men I ever knew. And I believe (if we succeed) will be one of the great men of this war.¹⁶ He makes no show but gradually and slowly rises to his proper level. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Corinth, Oct. 10, 1862]

. . . I cannot tell you much about the battle.¹⁷ Suffice it to say our army won a great victory but it was dearly purchased. . . . I went over the battle field and you may be assured [sic] that I put up many a silent prayer that this might be the last battle; but I fear we shall have many more before this wicked rebellion will be crushed. . . . Since the battle many Iowa men have been coming in principally commissioners for taking the vote of Iowa Soldiers. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Corinth, Oct. 25, 1862]

. . . People that think they have to undergo intolerable deprivations in Iowa ought to place themselves in the position of many Union people in this country and in Ky. I have seen people who have enjoyed not only the necessities of life but its luxuries who have told me that they have frequently during the past summer lived upon green corn and sweet potatoes for a week without bread. One old woman in the vicinity of Ripley the owner of a large plantation and fine house said she had not tasted Coffee for 16 months. She had two Sons in the Federal army and was so affected when the flag passed her house that [she] broke into tears. . . . Words will never be sufficiently strong to portray the misery this Rebellion has wrought upon unoffending Union loving people in the South. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Corinth, Nov. 5, 1862]

. . . I am receiving a large amount of stores and am soon to be involved head over heels in business. I am working with all my might to get men

¹⁶ Carpenter was wrong in his judgment of Rosecrans. In September of 1863, following his disastrous defeat at Chickamauga, Rosecrans was removed by Grant and replaced by George H. Thomas, the famous "Rock of Chickamauga." Grant, *Memoirs*, 2:21-7.

¹⁷ On October 4 the Confederates attacked the Union forces at Corinth and were repulsed after a bitter fight. *Ibid.*, 1:416-18.

and organize the business for future operations. The army is moving south and the Depot of supply at this place is put in my charge so you see I shall be here for some time. . . . I have been at work very hard to-day. Gen Dodge¹⁸ of Iowa commands this district. . . . To give you an idea of my business the stores that are being turned over to me would fill our Court House and every store House in our town from the bottom of the cellar to the Garrett [sic].

[To Judd Carpenter, from Corinth, Feb. 24, 1863]

. . . I am now on Gen Dodge's staff who commands the "District of Corinth" he is an Iowa man with whom I had a slight acquaintance before I came into the army and appears to have implicit confidence in me. I issue to about 15,000 men and 1500 contrabands. You will at once see that I have to employ a great many men as clerks warehousemen, &c &c, most of them however are detailed soldiers. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Corinth, March 12, 1863]

. . . Every thing at this point is moving on about as usual so far as I know. The Troops are very healthy and appear to make themselves quite comfortable considering the few conveniences they have with which to surround themselves with comforts. They have to lie in camp all the time with nothing to do but stand as dreary guard at certain intervals, nothing to read, and nothing to take their mind[s] from the, to them, loathsome duties of a soldier; they get greatly discontented which frequently amounts to insubordination and turbulence, and such fellows to complain and whine and find fault with everything I never saw and never expect to see after this war is over [one word illegible]. I should be awful unhappy if I was obliged to stay in a camp with them and have falling upon my ears the continual din, of their ten thousand complaints and ceaseless rounds of fault finding oaths. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Corinth, March 29, 1863]

. . . I am on Gen Dodge's staff, but it is simply a nominal position. . . . I like him however very much and think he has a good opinion of me. He is a little fellow not much larger than I am. He walks along in a shuffling

¹⁸ Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs, famous as the builder of the Union Pacific Railroad. For biography, see J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis, 1929).

kind of gait, bent over almost as much [as] I am. He is very industrious and hard working, has scouts out all over this part of the country, and it would be pretty hard for a Rebel army to come within several miles of this place without his knowing it, and being prepared to meet them. He has his wife here and she is a very nice stylish appearing lady, and appears to know all about the war. . . . [One of my clerks] is a very nice fellow and good businessman yet he has followed his Regiment and lain in camp, until he is entirely tired out, and sick of camp life, where he has to stay and hear the President abused, the Government abused, and cursing and swearing, of all kinds and for every reason. I have heard Lieut's in the army say that they had rather work at home for \$15.00 per month, than to be officers in their companies and hear the talk, complaint, whining, cursing, fault-finding, and all the embarrassing things to which their position subjects them. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Corinth, Oct. 28, 1863]

As Gen Dodge moves with his Div in a day or two I am ordered to pick up my traps and move with him. Therefore I shall start in a day or two much to my disappointment for I do not know what point or place. . . .

[To Kate Burkholder, from Pulaski, Tenn., Nov. 18, 1863]

I just returned this evening from a trip to Columbia 37 miles from here whither I have been to replenish the supplies of the command. . . . There is a great opportunity for getting enough to eat here. I think Gen Dodge and his command will remain here for some time perhaps all winter. . . . I hear and see but little that goes on on a march that would interest you from the fact that I have a train of wagons to look after cattle to drive and a thousand things to worry and vex me. . . .

[To Judd Carpenter, from Pulaski, Nov. 20, 1863]

. . . You will see that since writing you before I have changed my base. . . . Gen Dodge's command was not ordered to the scene of action. He has been so ordered and will open the R R which you will see on the map as extending from Nashville to Decatur. We will work our way down on this road as we open it until we will be an advanced position upon the right of the army, confronting Chickamauga. . . . If you take a map and trace a line from Corinth through Iuka Eastport and across to this place you will see the course we took to come here. I was the only commissary of the command consisting of about 12,000 men and you may judge that to supply

so many thousands I was up late and early and worked without ceasing.
 . . .¹⁹

[To his wife, from Athens, Ala., Apr. 3, 1864]

I have been very busy ever since I came down here, moving to this place, fixing up a place to stay, making orders for stores, and various other things. . . . I hear it rumored that Gen Sherman told Gen Dodge that he must stay here and keep this line of R R from Nashville to Decatur open during the coming summer; and when the Gen's command protested against being used so, he told them that it required as good a man to protect communications as any other place, and that successfully protecting them, when exposed as on this road, required skill and deserved as much credit as gallantry on the field of battle. . . . Gen Dodge now has under his command about 25,000 men and three Brigadier Generals Sweeney, Veatch, & Stevenson, this constitutes the "Left Wing of the 16th Army Corps." If they should move, as I have to see that all are fed, I would have work enough I tell you. I am in hopes therefore, if they will be just as effective guarding R R's as any other command would be, that they will not move, however "Not my will but Uncle Sams be done." . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Chattanooga, May 8, 1864]

Gen Dodge is now forty miles south of here, and is still marching forwards;²⁰ and whithersoever he marches John Browns Soul Marches. May God grant us success for if we win this campaign it seems to me that the future will be bright but if not heaven only knows what may be the fate of our glorious country. I am glad you are not with me, for marching and tramping along a road filled with the dust, caused by the passage over it, of 2000 wagons, 30,000 mules, and 100,000 men, is enough to put out the eyes & destroy the health of the most hardy. You will be astonished when I tell you, that not a drop of water which this country now affords is clear of a curious taste. There is a stench that fills the air. In my supply train of one hundred and sixty wagons in one day we lost 42 mules. By this you can imagine something of what this march is. . . .

¹⁹ In March of 1864 Carpenter at last received his first furlough since joining the service. He returned to Fort Dodge where he and Kate Burkholder were married on March 14. Carpenter to Judd Carpenter, April 22, 1864, *Carpenter Papers*.

²⁰ Dodge's forces had been removed to Chattanooga to take part in Sherman's great offensive against Atlanta. Sherman was now in command of the Army of the Tennessee, while Grant commanded the offensive in the East against Richmond.

[To his wife, from Big Shanty, Ga., June 21, 1864]

. . . It rains every day terrible rains and 50,000 men have to lie right in the trenches if they stick their heads up 6 inches they will be shot off. Yesterday I was sent to the lines and fully one half of the men were lying in the mud and water in some instances their whole body submerged and had been so for hours. I thought it hard to ride out through the mud and rain but when I came to see them I took it all back. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Big Shanty, June 23, 1864]

I wish we could celebrate the 4th in Atlanta and Gen Grant in Richmond but I doubt whether these two places will fall so soon as that. But that we will eventually take them and that too before this campaign closes I never doubt but the people must be patient for it will be a long campaign. It is the most tedious thing I ever dreamed of. It seems as though from Snake Creek Gap, to this place we have fought over every inch of Ground. Sherman is determined not to be surprised, or to give them all the advantage by charging their stupendous works, in their chosen positions, but approaches them by lines of fortifications; creeping up at night & throwing up new lines, from night to night; while day after day the poor fellows have to lay behind their intrenchments in the hot sun all day and if they lift their heads six inches from the ground a sharp shooter sends a ball whizzing through their brains, when the sun dont beat down in red-hot rays, upon the poor fellows that have to lie in line of battle from day to day in this manner, it rains in fearful torrents, and the ditches in which they lie fill with water, until the poor fellows have to lie for hours in mud and water just as filthy as hogs wallow in, in Iowa. I heard Col Noyes of the 39th Ohio say he was covered with mud, ticks, body-lice, and every conceivable "animalcula" it is awful. But the rebels have it just as bad that is one consolation. But the men are in better spirits, there is less grumbling, less swearing, less cussing officers, less wishing old Abe and the whole government was in "hell," and every conceivable blasphemy, such as soldiers practice; than I ever heard in the army before. . . .

[To his wife, from "Near Nickajack Creek, Ga.," July 4, 1864]

All night before last all day before yesterday and all yesterday we were on the march. And when I tell you that we are now only twelve miles from Big Shanty you will recognize something of the difficulties and delays of army movements. I have no doubt I have rode over the ground between

here and Big Shanty no less than half a dozen times since starting first a wagon is broke down then a team gives out in the hot sun then one thing then another to ride back & forth to see to; night before last dark rainy and muddy I rode all night. I do not know what to do sometimes as it nearly kills me to ride so much. Gen Sherman determined to drop his communication with the R R as the Kinesaw [sic] Mountains were utterly impregnable and the R. R. run right around it for several miles so Gen Sherman determined to let the Rebels come in on the R R and go around it to the right and this going around by night and over roads which we cut through the woods so the rebels would not see us is what we are at when we [are] going nights &c. . . . we are near Sweetwater on the Sandtown River and exerting every energy to beat the Rebels to the river. To day is awful hot and the dust is flying terribly. There is a little muddy hole like a hog-wallow a short distance from where I write and as the soldiers march along and see it they run to it and crowd and scratch to dip their tin cups in and get something to drink. . . . I am just stopped here in a wheat field to graze some cattle and while they are grazing . . . am writing to you. . . .

[To Judd Carpenter, from "Near Chattahoochee River, Ga.," July 7, 1864]

. . . Since I wrote you the Rebels have abandoned their strong position at Kinesaw Mt and the 16th Corps to which I am attached, Gen Dodge having command of that portion here, has swung around so that now we are next to the extreme right, the 17th Corps (Frank Blair) being on our right and consequently nearer the River, we are about 4 miles from the River. It is said that the Rebels are getting their *materiel* over the River as fast as possible. They fall back about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile at a time and every time when they fall back, they have Earth Works to cover them. You can imagine how those Rebels have worked, when I tell you that for the last eight miles every half mile there have been parallel lines of Earth works, fully ten miles long and in no place over a half mile apart and many places much nearer. These works are so that you could stand up behind them and be safe from bullets from the front and in front of them the trees are fallen over across with tops cut and limbs sharpened so as to deter men from charging; all this simply to cover a retreat with no apparent determination to hold them. This is war. . . .

[To the Des Moines *Register*, dated "Before Atlanta, Georgia," Aug. 25, 1864. The letter was published in the *Register* of Sept. 28, 1864.]

. . . I give the soldier's ration or supply table:

1. The ration is twelve ounces of pork or bacon, or one pound and four ounces of salt or fresh beef; eighteen ounces of soft bread or flour, or twelve ounces of hard bread, or one pound and four ounces of corn meal, and to every one hundred rations, fifteen pounds of beans and peas, or ten pounds of rice or hominy; ten pounds of green coffee, or eight pounds of roasted (or roasted and ground) coffee, or one pound and eight ounces of tea; fifteen pounds of sugar; four quarts of vinegar, one pound and four ounces of Adamantine or star candies; four pounds of soap; three pounds and twelve ounces of salt, and four ounces of pepper. The Subsistence Department as may be most convenient or least expensive to it, and according to the conditions and amount of its supplies, shall determine whether soft bread or flour, and what other component parts of the ration, as equivalents, shall be issued.

2. On a campaign, on marches, or on board of transports, the ration of hard bread is one pound.

3. Desicated compressed potatoes, or desicated compressed mixed vegetables, at the rate of one ounce and a half of the former and one ounce of the latter to the ration, may be substituted for beans, peas, rice or hominy.

4. Beans, peas, salt and potatoes (fresh), shall be purchased, issued and sold by weight, and the bushel of each shall be estimated at sixty pounds.

5. When deemed necessary, fresh vegetables, dried fruit, molasses, pickles or any other proper food may be purchased and issued in lieu of any component part of the ration of equal money value. The Commissary General of Subsistence is alone authorized to order such purchase. . . .

When starting on this campaign, we were ordered by Gen. Sherman to take half rations of salt meat, full rations of hard bread, coffee, sugar, and double rations of salt, as we were to use a good deal of fresh beef. However, since closing the movements from one flank to another, and while the army has been lying on the Georgia R. R. confronting Atlanta, we have been able again to obtain nearly the full ration. The reason Gen. Sherman issued the order for the campaign was because with our limited transportation, it was impracticable to have the full supply. . . .

[The following letter was written from August 25 to September 7, and dated East Point, Ga., Sept. 11, 1864. It was published in the *Des Moines Register*, Oct. 5, 1864.]

At noon on the 25th of August, all the trains required to transport fifteen

day's supply for the army, were ordered from their position in the rear of the forces confronting Atlanta, to Judge Wilson's house, near the crossing of Utoy Creek, in the direction of Sandtown. . . . On the night of the 26th, the 16th corps, constituting the rear guard of the "Army of the Tenn.," left the trenches in front of Atlanta and took up the line of march for Judge Wilson's and simultaneously the 20th corps withdrew from in front of Atlanta and occupied the works prepared for it in front of the Chattahoochee Bridge, and the vast park of trains left behind. . . .

At an early hour on the morning of the 28th, we marched for the Atlanta and La Grange R. R., which we intersected between Fairburn and Red Oak near Shadrock [Shadna] church, a portion of our forces occupying it by 3 o'clock P. M. when the work of destruction was immediately commenced.

The 16th and 17th corps marched upon a road upon the extreme left; the 15th corps followed by the supply train of the "Army of the Tennessee," pursued a road to the right, varying about one fourth to a mile from that of the 16th and 17th; the 4th and 14th corps were still further to the right, marching on two roads about the same distance apart, while the one nearest the "Army of the Tenn.," varied from a half to a mile in distance. All these roads were generally parallel in their course. . . .

At night the army bivouacked in the vicinity of [Shadna] Church, where it remained during the 29th, and continued the work of destruction on the R. R. utterly destroying it for miles either way. It is more work to destroy a R. R. than one would imagine. In the first place the spikes have to be knocked out on the side of the rail — no easy job — then the rails are pried up, being frequently so imbedded in the ties as to be moved with great difficulty, then the ties are pried out of the hardened earth in which they have lain imbedded for years, being piled in heaps about every three rods. But as these have been hugged by the damp earth for years, they frequently will not burn without an addition of more combustible material, usually supplied from the neighboring fence. When this is done, and the fire kindled, the iron rails are laid across the burning ties, thus heating the middle of the rail, which causes the ends to sink to the ground from their own weight. The boys then take them off, put the heated centre against a stump tree or telegraph pole, and bend the two ends together, and not infrequently drive them quite past each other. . . .

August 30th. — . . . It was a long hard march today, and that in the face of the enemy. . . . At times the skirmishing was quite heavy, the

rebels disputing our advance with great stubbornness, but against all obstacles the troops pressed forward.

I had charge of a drove of cattle, and when it became dark, I found that driving them through the thick brush was next to impossible, especially as wagons, artillery, horses, mules, and every conceivable thing was crowded in the road until there was no room for another living thing. I could not *correll* [sic] for the night, as I did not know how far the troops would move. So I went forward with a view to overtaking Gen. Ransom, and finding out. After riding by, over and around troops, wagons, artillery, &c. &c., for about two miles, being jostled against trees, and scratching face and eyes in sundry thorn bushes in attempting to pass the column by taking to the woods, I finally overtook the head of the 2d Brigade, 4th Division — General Sprague — who told me that he expected the command would reach the R. R., if possible. I then started back, determined to have those cattle brought forward, as I feared to risk their staying so far in the rear. On getting back, I found a Cavalry company guarding them, who had correlled the herd, it having become so dark they could not see them. — The train and troops were still passing the point where they were encamped. I left them with orders that so soon as the road was clear to come ahead, and determined to go to the front, and find at what point in this vast army our corps would take up its position. The road over which the 16th corps passed that P. M. was one cut for the occasion, therefore rough, stumpy and narrow. — In passing along this dark night, I saw the debris of an army which had marched all one hot day and half the night. Here would be a wagon broken down and shoved outside, with darkey, mules and load all left standing — here one with the team tired out turned into the brush, team unhitched, and feeding — here one with a mule stretched dead in harness and shoved aside, with disconsolate driver rigging harness for a spike team — here half a wagon load of rations, which some driver with failing team had dispensed with to lighten his load — here would come a soldier staggering along under his heavy pack, using a gun for a cane — here another, riding an old mule which had been abandoned during the day, but had been “turned in” by this sore-footed, tired out soldier — here would come a squad of five or six half give out soldiers, with blankets, knapsacks, &c. strapped on the back of an abandoned mule, or some old citizen’s horse, which had been confiscated for this occasion — here a half dozen who had seized a yoke of steers, yoke and cart upon which they had

loaded their traps, and were making good headway to the front — here would likely be a half dozen in the brush, sound asleep, heedless of anything passing — here would be a single soldier, pressing the foot of a tree used as a pillow, wrapped in slumber — here would be half a dozen in the brush, with camp-fire, cooking the corn they had harvested for supper — here a negro plodding along with some scant cooking utensils, telling he is some officer's servant fallen behind; he inquires for "fust Brigade de 2d Division," and plods along, while his officer lies, hungrily awaiting his coming, five miles in advance. But notwithstanding all these scenes, there is something constantly occurring which will cause a man to laugh, however tired. On this night at one place we came out of the timber into a field which seemed to have been a rendezvous for stragglers; in fact there were so many lying on either side of the road, it looked somewhat as though a regiment had bivouacked there; when a wagon-master just emerging from the dark woods, at the head of his section of teams, discovered them, and drawing himself up in his saddle with a dignity only attainable by wagon-masters says: "What regiment is this?" "Ninety-third stragglers," was the response of a soldier. "You've got a d——d big regiment," says the wagon-master. "Yes," was the reply, "we used to have a bigger one, but those who straggled the worst have been promoted to wagon-masters, so they can ride." To appreciate this, you should know in what contempt a wagon-master is held by a soldier in the line, and also how disgraceful it is considered to straggle. Finally through all this panorama, I reached Flint river, but as it was after midnight, I could find no one at head-quarters awake; hearing, however, that the 17th corps which was in the rear, would camp about five miles back, bringing it in the neighborhood of my corral, I started back, so well satisfied that I could even whistle, while picking my way through the woods to avoid the moving mass occupying the road. I got back just at daylight to find everything all right. . . .

Sept. 1 — Heavy firing of artillery continues, interspersed with continuous volleys of musketry, and the loud huzzas that roll along the line of battle whenever a point is gained. . . . During the whole of this afternoon the smoke of the burning powder, and burning railroad ties, filled the whole atmosphere with a dense, suffocating smoke, while the moving of troops, trains and artillery, added to the smoky darkness, clouds of dust fairly hiding the sun. It was impossible to see anything more than a few yards. To an unpracticed eye everything would have seemed like confusion, or

rather chaos. It was like a seething cauldron, while there was a dead, heavy roar in the heavens, like an approaching storm. The 17th corps in marching to and fro, passed one given point four times, and still did not get into the heavy fighting. I am satisfied, however, Gen. Sherman understood the matter; and notwithstanding the chaotic appearance of things, and the mysterious movements, there was no time during the day, but when I felt confident of the results, and my confidence appeared to find an echo from every tongue. You could feel victory in the smoke and dust laden air.

Sept. 2 — Our skirmishers developed the fact that the enemy had fled,²¹ and a little after daylight the whole army was on the move. . . . I never saw as grand a sight as the army presented. On the left side of the railroad the 4th corps marched, while on the track was the long blue line of the 14th corps; immediately on the right of the road were the dark columns of the 15th corps, through the middle of a field lining the railroad, and occasional skirts of timber, where our pioneers cut a road, wound the serpentine columns of the 16th corps, and in a dirt road on the right of the fields the 17th corps swept along. Away in the distance, the back ground was made grand by five or six different lines of wagon trains, all coming up in the rear. The morning was bright, the dust and smoke had settled, and two or three times during the march, I gained a point in the fields, whence could be seen these five distinct blue columns of confident veterans, while the glimmer of the sun's rays on all those thousands of glistening bayonets seemed to make the world look lighter than common. It was amusing to see some of the boys, marching to the front that morning. A lawyer's office had been cleaned out in Jonesboro that morning, and now and then you would see a soldier tugging along with knapsack and gun, and Blackstone, or Kent, or the Statutes of Georgia under his arm. . . . The good spirits that pervaded our forces was [sic] remarkable. When arriving in the vicinity of Lovejoy's Station, the rear guard of the enemy was found throwing up intrenchments; the boys could hardly be restrained from charging the works, but Sherman having accomplished so well the object of the campaign, forebore making any more sacrifice of life as he knew better how to win an objective point.

September 3d, 4th and 5th, we remained below Jonesboro, near Lovejoy's Station, the headquarters of the 16th Corps being near Hebron

²¹ On September 1 the Confederate forces evacuated Atlanta, thus ending Sherman's four-month campaign against that stronghold.

Church. On the A. M. of the 4th, the trains started back for East Point, that being understood as the place of rendezvous for the "Army of the Tenn." . . .

When we were on the march, officers and men would often say to me, "Ain't this a splendid movement?" "Ain't General Sherman a trump?" and though it was hardly known what we were to do, or where to go — only surmised by the soldier; yet, all spoke of it with that enthusiasm and confidence which is a sure precursor of success. I understood then what there is in an army that has perfect confidence in the skill and judgment of its commander; I also had a slight appreciation of that power in a great mind, which by some mysterious magnetic influence, can infuse its own enthusiasm into a vast body of men, thousands of whom never saw the man upon whom they so implicitly rely. . . . Of the high order of talent which the future historian will concede to Gen. Sherman, and the niche he will occupy in the history of this restored Union, I need not speak, as the voice of the country and his army has prophesied in advance.

[The following letter, dated at East Point, Ga., Sept. 27, 1864, appeared in the *Des Moines Register* of Nov. 2, 1864, with the note: "The following communication has been on its way here nearly a month. The delay was occasioned by the cutting off of Sherman's communication."]²²

. . . Men constitute an army; and whatever adds to the health and saves the life of the soldier is one of the most important achievements of the science of war. The great improvements made in this particular are noticeable to the dullest observer. The mode of living in the camp of the soldier has constantly improved since the first doubtful campaigns of this great struggle. I cannot but notice with what scant supplies from the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments, a soldier will now make himself a degree comfortable; especially when contrasted with the blind and ignorant experiences of 1861 and '62. Then upon the march, if the Regimental and Brigade teams did not bring forward the soldier's cooking utensils at night, no meat would be cooked, or coffee boiled, but he would nibble hard tack, eat his sow-meat, swallow from his canteen some sickish warm water, and

²² Sherman's army was now on its famous "March to the Sea." The troops left Atlanta on November 14, 1864; on December 10, they reached Savannah, which fell on December 22 — Sherman's "Christmas gift" to Lincoln. Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals*, 345-6.

lie down upon the ground to curse his fate. Now the experienced campaigner carries his little coffee-boiler attached to his knapsack, and often when halting in the day-time boils a cup of coffee. If he finds an old canteen, he melts the solder, thus parting it in two equal halves at the outer edge, and running a string through the edge of one half, he has a frying pan which he can carry without feeling its weight. He has learned to march in the army shoes instead of thin-soled square-toed boots. When he bivouacks at night, with rails, pickets, or boards, he extemporizes himself a bed off the ground; but if this is not possible he always has a rubber blanket, which is a good protection against the damp earth. He has sufficient experience to cook his food until done, and to avail himself of everything that comes in his way that will protect his health and add to his comforts. In fact he has established his habitation in so many places, that he not only erects his house with great celerity, but not infrequently manifests a taste, which did not constitute an element in his character before leaving home for the war. . . .

There is one scene connected with an army which I have never seen described by a correspondent, even of as good taste as B. F. Taylor, and that is the evening bivouack, after a day's march. Mothers and sisters would laugh to see a faithful representative of their hopeful sons, and big brothers, on this occasion. The whole atmosphere of an encampment is laden with a kind of crowded hum. Every soldier will be doing something; either laughing, talking, whistling, singing, pounding something, or cutting wood. Two are extemporizing a bed as follows: take two rails and lay them flat on the ground about twelve feet apart and parallel with each other; crosswise and near the end of these lay a third rail, as if to build a rail pen; then lay two more over the first two with ends resting on the last, then lay another cross rail near the same end on which the first crosswise was laid, and about a foot inside of that. They then take rails, and passing one end over this last cross rail, and under the first, so the lower ends rest on the ground the rails forming an angle of almost forty-five degrees, while the intervening one at the bottom holds everything firm, thus making rafters, over which by spreading a gum [rubber] blanket, the house is complete. — Others will be kindling fires for the hundreds of different messes; others bringing rails for fires and bunks; others splitting wood; others pounding coffee in tin cups, with the butt end of their bayonets or muzzles of their guns; others bringing water with a dozen canteens strung over their shoulders; others

frying fat bacon; others picking chickens foraged during the day; and all at work. . . .

But while there are some things not unpleasant in the life of a soldier, there are others outside of the battle field from which the stoutest heart shrinks back appalled. . . . To illustrate one of the trials which develops the manhood of the soldier, I will give a single day's history, journalized during the late campaign. When we left Kingston, the army was supplied with twenty days rations; all to be loaded on wagons before the troops marched. The day our forces moved, the 16th corps moving in the rear, and not getting out until nearly night its train was last loaded. And when the corps was well on its way to Van Wert, it was found the A. Q. M. had failed to leave trains enough to haul the required number of rations. I had charge of this business, and after riding all night, to Head Quarters for an order for more teams, and the balance of the night in finding Quarter Masters, and getting the teams back some seven miles, I finally succeeded in getting them loaded. — But it was then nearly night and as it was reported that Wheeler's cavalry had come in between our forces and Kingston, Col. Hambright of the 79th Pennsylvania objected to my leaving, he being Post Commandant. But as every hour widened the distance betwixt my train, for which I had one company of cavalry as an escort, and the left wing of the 16th Corps, I persuaded the Colonel to allow me to move. When I got well on the road it was dark, the corps now being twenty-five hours in advance. — I resolved that, Wheeler not interfering, that train should not halt until it joined the main command. We had not gone far before it commenced raining. The terrific thunder and vivid lightning appeared to be incessant, and between the flashes of lightning the darkness could be felt. I thought I had seen heavy storms on the prairies of Iowa, but for pouring rain, and impenetrable darkness, I never saw this night excelled. I had no rubber coat with me, and was completely drenched and very cold. Nothing but constant riding back and forth, in my anxiety to get the train along, prevent wagon-masters from leaving wagons sticking in the mud, and to see that the train was kept closed up, prevented me from becoming numb and sick. At one time during the night, we crossed what appeared to be a kind of barren, for several miles without seeing a house. We were uncertain whether the command followed that road or not, as the rain swept along the road like a torrent, completely obliterating all signs of any force having passed over the road before. We were enabled to keep the road solely

by the light of a lantern, which Mr. O. E. Mason, P. M. for the 16th Corps had in his ambulance, he having fallen in with us on his route to the command with the mail. This he lighted, and keeping in advance of the train, we followed the flickering light. While riding along uncertain whether we were in the right road or not, I saw by a flash of lightning a dark object beside the road, like a man. I thought it was one of my escort, dismounted and asleep, but on getting down and taking hold of him, I found him stark and cold in death. By his uniform I discovered he was a member of the 35th New Jersey Regiment, who had undoubtedly fallen out and died the day before; thus, by this solemn sign I was notified that we were on the right road.

But on through the blinding storm and deep mud we pressed, making our way into Van Wert the next morning at daylight. — Here were soldiers sitting on each side of the road, bedraggled and muddy, waiting for the 15th and 17th Armp Corps to get out of the way as they were marching in advance. While I was telling a man I had been out all night, and had no sleep for the two preceding nights, he told me they had been ordered out the evening before, after a hard day's march, and had been sitting there all night long, waiting for those two Corps to pull out and give the road. Any person who has boiled over with impatience for having to wait an hour or so in a comfortable place, can imagine the state of mind throughout this whole Army Corps, waiting for ten hours, tired and worn out, in that stormy night, with no chance to sleep. Nothing but the noblest principles of manhood, and the sternest principles of patriotism can enable men under such circumstances to withstand the temptation to complain, and give way to unavailing regrets.

It would be impossible to enumerate in a half dozen communications the many changes which have taken place in the minds of soldiers relative to the theory of war. — One thing, however, is so patent as to deserve notice. I remember in the Spring of 1862, after the battle of Shiloh, when our forces were moving upon Corinth, how bitterly some of the soldiers complained of Gen. Halleck, protesting they did not join the army to work, but fight, and were anxious to be led against the works encircling Corinth. But now protests are on the other side; the old veteran is not anxious to be led against the enemy buried behind breastworks; where, safe himself, he is prepared, coolly and deliberately, to shoot down his assailant; but he is always ready to dig his way to the front. Now soldiers will frequently

carry a spade along with them, on all their marches, besides their other plunder, and will refuse even to allow the Quarter Master to haul it for them, alleging that they may want to use it, and that it is their spade, and they prefer to carry it themselves. — When you see a man marching under a scalding sun, bending under a gun, spade, knapsack, &c., you may be assured he is a brave man, a brave soldier, and goes prepared for emergencies, and never thinks of straggling to the rear when the emergency arrives. It is astonishing how quickly an army will now extemporize breast-works. They will spring to it in an emergency, and hurl together rails, old logs, brush, and temporary defense; then in the lulls of a battle, with bayonets, frying-pan handles, butcher knives, &c., dig up the earth in the rear of those frail log and rail works, and scooping it up with frying-pans, tin cups, their hands, &c., by magic heavy earthworks loom up, where a few moments before were rude rail piles, log-heaps, and other debris of the soil. . . .

[To his wife, from Smyrna Church, Ga., Nov. 8, 1864]

. . . I was made a Lt Col and ordered to the 16th Corps on the Miss River. I was then temporarily on duty at Dept. Hd Qrs and Gen Howard²³ ordered me to stay until the march was over. When I came here he told me that I was so good a man he did not want to lose me from the field and therefore ordered me to duty in the 15th Corps. This was disagreeable to me as this army is going on a great campaign and this is the last letter I can write you until it is over. We are to drop our communications and launch out through the Southern Confederacy whither none know but Gen Sherman and he does not tell Commissaries. . . .

[To his wife, from "Anderson Plantation near Savannah, Ga.," Dec. 16, 1864]

On Tuesday the 15th of Nov. our forces commenced leaving Atlanta as I had informed you in numerous notes and letters they would. I staid until the evening of the 16th and left with the rear guard after having seen most of the city and all the business portion destroyed. I have previously told you all I knew concerning the trip we were to make. I suppose Gen Sher-

²³ General O. O. Howard was placed in command of the Army of the Tennessee on July 27, 1864, having succeeded John A. Logan, who in turn had succeeded Sherman. On March 26, 1864, Sherman had been moved from command of the Army of the Tennessee to command over the armies of the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and Arkansas — known as the Military Division of the Mississippi. Dyer, *Compendium*, 256-7.

man himself did not know exactly what point on the Atlantic Seaboard he would pounce upon at the end as his movements would necessarily be controlled by the enemy in some measure. But after a long march over a barren and thinly populated pine country and vast sandy stretches, he has brought up in front of Savannah and has the city closely invested, with every prospect of its early reduction. There was but little on the trip to interest a person.²⁴ Population is reduced from its old proportions to consist of a few troubled scared cadaverous looking females surrounded by a numerous herd of half-starved looking children enough to excite the sympathy of the most stony-hearted Yankee. The country is not such as to please the eye of an individual who has seen western prairies. Take it all together the trip was monotonous one day being the tedious recapitulation of its predecessor. . . . I hope Savannah will be taken without the sacrifice of many lives and that will prove this one of the fastest and most successful expeditions of the age. This too I think will soon lead to the fall of Richmond. The Confederacy is now effectually cut in twain. I suppose there has been much interest felt in Gen Sherman's army and his safe arrival upon the Atlantic seaboard with the loss of less than 500 men after all the silly braggadocio of Rebel papers about the capture of his entire army — will be a great relief to the public mind. . . .

[To Emmett Carpenter, from Savannah, Ga., Dec. 25, 1864]

. . . You will no doubt obtain through the press the full particulars of the evacuation of Savannah and Gen Sherman's triumphant entrance into an almost depopulated city. But very little material of war was found here and the Rebels either took away large trains or were not well supplied and must soon have surrendered to avoid starvation if they had not shipped out of the "Back Door" — I do not know where we will go next but do not think we will remain here long. We are now on very short rations as the Rebels by chains strung across the channel, Torpedoes, and Rock filled cribs, sunk in the channel effectually prevent present navigation of the River. But so soon as we shall be able to replete our supplies get some clothes shoes &c &c I have no doubt Gen Sherman will order his veteran

²⁴ This statement must be surprising to readers who have come to consider Sherman's "marching through Georgia" as one of the highly dramatic stories of the Civil War. Carpenter must have become hardened to the ravages of war; nowhere in his letters does he mention the great destruction of property which made Sherman's march at once so terrible and so successful.

columns to "forward march" either to assist Gen Grant in the capture of Richmond, or to attack and take Augusta with an ultimate view to the reduction of Charleston from a rear attack. . . . I think we will have to fight these rebels another year but I know that they will find a harder row to hoe now than they have heretofore. This army of Gen Sherman's are sufficient to march any where they may please when there is any thing like an equal field of operations. . . .

[To his wife, from Raleigh, Apr. 18, 1865]

. . . But to-day confirms a rumor of yesterday, which fills all hearts with gloom. We have the sad intelligence that Abraham Lincoln is dead — died by the hand of an assassin this at any time would be a sorrowful stroke to our country but particularly so now when the complications of our foreign relations are to be unravelled, and the intricate business of reconstruction is to be effected, duties for which his calm wisdom, his dispassionate mind, his [illegible] spirit, his discreet forecast, his unparalleled [sic] sagacity, and his noble Christian character was so well fitted to perform. . . . I pity the women & children in this confederacy if Johnston does not surrender for if this army with its present feelings should march over the country they would raze every house to its foundation. . . .²⁵

[To his wife, from Manchester, Va., May 12, 1865]

I wrote you and Emmett day before yesterday then expecting it would be the last you would hear from me until I arrived in the vicinity of Alexandria whither our army is expected to march. But as the Potomac Army was occupying the roads leading out from Richmond and had to get out of our way then Sheridans Army came up and had to use the Pontoons in crossing the James River and take the roads in front of us, we have just been able to get the roads this morning. The 17th Corps is now crossing and we will be able to commence crossing at 1 P. M. but will not be over until late to-morrow. . . . I am very glad we are going to get away from here first I am anxiously to get along and secondly there is so much ill-feeling between these two armies I want to get away by ourselves. Fights have occurred between the armies resulting in the death of one or two men already and if we had to lay here long things would become worse. I of course do not partake of the prejudices and jealousies of most of our officers and men and try in every way to allay the foolish feeling but Gen Sherman shows the prejudice of his army I think to a large extent and that

gives the men a supposed license to abuse the Potomac Army. Gen Sherman I think is somewhat soured to think he did not himself come off with the *eclat* of being the great negotiator and Pacificator and being naturally of a morose vain temperament and extremely ambitious he will be rather hard to manage in the future. . . .

[The army left Manchester on May 12 and arrived at Alexandria on May 21. The following two entries from a brief diary which Carpenter kept during 1865 describe briefly the two-day Grand Review of the troops at Washington.]

May 23, 1865. Went to Washington again and saw the review of Gen Meades army [the Army of the Potomac]. . . . I never saw a greater Crowd than was here to-day. Every body and their Cousins were on hand and every body looked happy. The Review was over about 3 oclock and I went home. I think this has been a grand army and looks better than our army. . . .

May 24, 1865. To-day was the second day of the Review and our army [Sherman's] is on its toes. I never saw better marching than was done by that army.²⁶ Every body admits they exceeded the army of the Potomac. Every man in the army feels like a major general to-night. . . .

²⁵ General Joseph T. Johnston surrendered to Sherman on April 18, 1865, the very day that Carpenter wrote this letter. For this surrender, see Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), 534ff.

²⁶ For a dramatic account of the Grand Review, see *ibid.*, Chap. 56.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

During the months of September, October, November, and December, 226 new members were added to the Society. Four life members were added during that period: Mrs. Malcolm D. Lomas, Red Oak; George E. Virden, Mount Pleasant; L. G. Wendt, Dubuque; and Mrs. H. H. Dukes, Ithaca, New York.

On September 25, 1954, Superintendent William J. Petersen addressed the noon luncheon of the 76th annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society at Lincoln. His paper on steamboating on the Missouri River as a factor in the development of the Nebraska territory will be published in *Nebraska History*.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

September 25	Read paper at Nebraska State Historical Society meeting at Lincoln.
October 13	Addressed Ainsworth Chamber of Commerce.
October 19	Addressed Marshall County Historical Society at Marshalltown.
November 2	Addressed Muscatine County members of the State Historical Society.
December 28-30	Attended annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York.

Iowa Historical Activities

The Chickasaw County Historical Society held its first anniversary meeting on December 7, 1954, at Fredericksburg and re-elected its original slate of officers: Mrs. Earl Edson, president; Tom D. Conklin, vice-president; Rev. Glenn L. Utterbach, secretary; and Mrs. Glen Young, treasurer. The Society now has 200 members and is pushing for 600 during the coming year. Plans are being made for marking all the historic sites in the county.

At the November, 1954, meeting of the Guthrie County Historical Society plans were discussed for the restoration of the old Lenon mill, the only

site of major historic interest in the county. The Society has also been making a study of the old post offices in the county.

The Iowa Archaeological Society held its fall meeting at the Effigy Mounds National Monument on October 10, 1954. George Heikens of Spencer, president of the Society, presided at the meeting, and papers were read by Warren Wittry, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Dr. Reynold J. Ruppe, professor of anthropology, State University of Iowa; and Professor Gerald F. Else, of the department of classics, State University of Iowa. The spring meeting of the Society will be held in May, 1955.

The Northwest Chapter of the Iowa Archaeological Society met at Cherokee on November 21, for the election of officers. Earl Brewster of Sheldon was elected president; Dale Martin, Cherokee, vice-president; Mrs. Lawrence Johnson, Peterson, secretary-treasurer.

Historians from Iowa's colleges and universities met at Drake University's annual conference of college teachers of history in October, 1954. A symposium on scholarships was presided over by Robert W. Iversen, assistant professor of social science at Drake; and Joseph F. Wall of Grinnell College read a paper on "Henry Steel Commager, Social Historian."

The Floyd County Historical Society met on October 4, 1954, at Charles City and substituted articles of incorporation for the society's constitution which was adopted a year ago. J. M. Witzel was elected president of the Society, to succeed John Legel. The other officers are Charlotte Magdsick, vice-president; Mrs. Selby Russell, secretary; and Mrs. Ray Sweet, treasurer.

The Marshall County Historical Society met at Marshalltown on October 19, 1954, and listened to an address on Iowa's history by William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society.

Clinton is making plans for celebrating its centennial during 1955. Alvin Brauer is chairman of the eighteen-member centennial board of directors. Dates for the centennial have been set for June 19 through 25, 1955.

The Oskaloosa Chapter of the D. A. R. dedicated a marker at the location of the first school in Mahaska County, October 9, 1954. The marker is located on Highway 92, east of the first crossroad east of Oskaloosa and is on the section of land where the first school was built.

When plans were made by the Solon school district of Johnson County to auction fifteen abandoned one-room schoolhouses in October of 1954, the question of the disposition of the one known as the Old Stone Academy aroused considerable interest. At the suggestion of Dr. William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society, the members of the school board agreed to withhold the building from auction and to foster plans for preserving it as a museum. The building, two miles north of Solon, is 112 years old, and was last used as a school during the 1952-1953 school year. Old equipment is being saved from the other schools and will be transferred to the Old Stone Academy for preservation and display.

At the September meeting of the Grinnell Historical Museum Society the following officers were elected: Bertha Smith, president; Mrs. R. E. Coughnour, Mrs. Don Cunningham, and Mrs. James McNally, vice-presidents; Miss Nettie Bayley, honorary board member; Mrs. F. W. Tomasek, secretary; and Miss Helen Taylor, treasurer. A fire on October 9 destroyed the building in which the Grinnell Museum was housed, bringing serious losses to the Society. Plans were immediately started for a new Museum.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

A Stillness at Appomattox. By Bruce Catton. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1953. \$5.00.) With this volume Catton concludes his trilogy on the Army of the Potomac. The preceding volumes, *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (1951) and *Glory Road* (1952), carried the story of the war in the East through the battle of Gettysburg. This last volume, which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize, begins with the coming of Grant to the East and concludes with the "stillness at Appomattox." Based on wide reading in the sources, from soldiers' diaries and letters to the ponderous *Official Records*, these three volumes revive the glory and the horror of America's Civil War as the participants saw and experienced it. Mr. Catton has made a new and lively contribution to the military history of the Civil War, and his books can be highly recommended to all readers.

U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition. By Bruce Catton. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1954. \$3.00.) This is the first volume in a projected series, the Library of American Biography edited by Oscar Handlin. In some 190 pages Catton has told the story of Grant, the general and the president, and has succeeded in presenting a graphic and moving picture of one of America's greatest generals and one of her poorest presidents. For those who want a better understanding of the enigmatic U. S. Grant, the reading of this book will be a rewarding experience.

Matthew Hale Carpenter: Webster of the West. By E. Bruce Thompson. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954. \$4.50.) The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has, within the past few years, published some outstanding biographies of famous Wisconsin figures. Matt Carpenter, fiery Radical Senator during the Grant and Hayes administrations, was one of the most colorful of the public figures in Washington. A constitutional lawyer of great ability and reputation, Carpenter has been almost forgotten. This biography adds to an understanding not only of Carpenter, but of the Reconstruction era as well.

Main Street on the Middle Border. By Lewis Atherton. (Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 1954. \$6.00.) With the background of his studies of the merchant in Mid-America and the Southern country store, Lewis Atherton has now written a social and economic history of the Middle Western town from the Civil War to the present. His work is based on the newspapers, whose local columns and advertising pages are too often neglected by the historian; on literary works by such Middle Westerners as Hamlin Garland, Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, and others; and on various diaries and papers of the residents of these small towns. From the communities of Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, and the other states of the Middle West, the author has drawn his picture of small-town life and has contributed to a knowledge of the social history of the past.

Grierson's Raid. By D. Alexander Brown. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954. \$4.00.) Immediately following the Civil War, military histories of that great event were plentiful. Then followed a long period of neglect of all military history. Only recently a revival of interest in the Civil War has produced a number of new studies of the highly dramatic events of that conflict. This book is a day-by-day account, based on the sources, of the cavalry raid of Colonel Benjamin Grierson into Confederate Mississippi in April of 1863, a part of Grant's campaign against Vicksburg. The author has written an exciting and dramatic account of one of the famous cavalry raids of the Civil War.

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COVER

The steamboat *Florence* in 1862, J. Throckmorton, captain. From the private collection of William J. Petersen.

STEAMBOATING ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

By William J. Petersen*

The history of the Missouri River,¹ like that of the Upper Mississippi, goes back to the advent of Joliet and Marquette in 1673. It was early in July that these venturesome Frenchmen first saw the Missouri. As they were paddling quietly down the Mississippi below Piasa Rock (Alton, Illinois), Joliet and Marquette suddenly heard the "noise of a rapid" which proved to be the Missouri River. "I have seen nothing more dreadful," Marquette wrote in his journal, as he noted the "accumulation of large and entire trees, branches, and floating islands" issuing from the mouth of the Missouri with "such impetuosity" that the explorers could not "risk passing through it" without great danger. According to Marquette the "agitation" of the two streams at the confluence made the water "very muddy" so that it "could not become clear."

The Indians were able to furnish Joliet and Marquette with only fragmentary information about the Pekitanoui River, as the Missouri was called by them because of its muddy water. "Pekitanoui," Marquette recorded, "is a river of Considerable size, coming from the Northwest, from a great Distance; and it discharges into the Mississippi. There are many Villages of savages along this river."²

*William J. Petersen is superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa. This article is an expansion of an address given before the 76th annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society at Lincoln on September 25, 1954, which appeared in *Nebraska History* for December, 1954.

¹The following accounts of Missouri River steamboating should prove useful: Hiram M. Chittenden, *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (New York, 1903); Joseph M. Hanson, *The Conquest of the Missouri* (Chicago, 1910); Stanley Vestal, *The Missouri* (New York, 1945); William L. Heckman, *Steamboating Sixty-five Years on Missouri's Rivers* (Kansas City, 1950); Phil E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River" and "Missouri River Steamboats," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 9:237-94, 295-316 (1905-1906); [Several authors], "The Missouri River," *Nebraska History Magazine*, 8:1-64 (January-March, 1925); W. J. McDonald, "The Missouri River and Its Victims," *Missouri Historical Review*, 21:215-42, 455-80, 581-607 (January, April, July, 1927); William J. Petersen (ed.), "The Log of the Henry M. Shreve to Fort Benton in 1869," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 31:537-78 (March, 1945), and *Iowa — The Rivers of Her Valleys* (Iowa City, 1941), 206-228; John G. Neihardt, *The River and I* (New York, 1927).

²Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.) *The Jesuit Relations . . .* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901), 59:139-43.

During the next 130 years relatively little was learned about the mighty Missouri. True, such men as La Salle, Father Zenobius Membre, and Father Gabriel Marest referred briefly to the Missouri in their writings, and cartographers like William Delisle endeavored to delineate its lower course. But the upper reaches of the Missouri still lay shrouded in mystery when Jefferson bought Louisiana from Napoleon in 1803.³

The Lewis and Clark expedition added more information to our knowledge of the Missouri than did all the writers and cartographers from Joliet and Marquette down to the Louisiana Purchase. Although a few venture-some fur traders had ascended the Missouri even before St. Louis was founded in 1764, it was the Lewis and Clark expedition that greatly expanded the traffic in furs and pelts.⁴ The names of Manuel Lisa, Wilson P. Hunt, John C. Luttig, Joseph Robidoux, Alexander Harvey, John Colter, Pierre Charles Cabanne, and Hugh Glass recall those "laughers at time and space" who plunged so bravely into the Missouri River fur trade.⁵

Prior to the advent of the steamboat, the keelboat and the pirogue were the only vessels capable of carrying a cargo up the turbid Missouri. Both the Lewis and Clark and the Brigadier General Henry Atkinson expeditions used keelboats to ascend the Missouri, but this mode of transportation proved entirely inadequate to stem the snag-infested, sandbar-studded, swiftly flowing stream. Even Manuel Lisa's mad race up the Missouri after the Astorian Expedition in 1812, while appropriately called the "Marathon of the Missouri," did little to prove the practicability of keelboats on the tawny Missouri.⁶ It remained for the steamboat to succeed where all other modes of transportation had failed. And it was largely through the steamboat that the Nebraska country developed at such a phenomenal rate between 1854 and 1867, when statehood finally was achieved.⁷

³ Petersen, *Iowa — The Rivers of Her Valleys*, 208-210.

⁴ Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* . . . (8 vols., New York, 1904-1905). An excellent single volume prepared for the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition is Bernard De Voto (ed.), *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Boston, 1953). See also William J. Petersen, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," *The Palimpsest*, 35:357-404 (September, 1954).

⁵ Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902); George F. Robeson, "The Fur Trade," *The Palimpsest*, 6:1-41 (January, 1925); Mari Sandoz, *The Buffalo Hunters* (New York, 1954).

⁶ William J. Petersen, "Up. the Missouri with Atkinson," *The Palimpsest*, 12:315-25 (August, 1931).

⁷ Actually the growth of the four Missouri Valley states and Dakota Territory probably surpassed that of the nine western states and territories between 1850 and

Steamboating on the Missouri is one of the most colorful and dynamic stories in the development of the Trans-Mississippi West. So great was the contribution of the steamboat to Missouri Valley history that it deserves equal rank with the covered wagon as a symbol of the westward movement. A study of seven successive frontier lines from 1800 to 1870 quickly reveals how the American pioneer moved down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Missouri to the Kansas-Nebraska country. This was accomplished by water craft whose speed and tonnage was greatly increased following the invention of the steamboat. Even the thick water of the Missouri, celebrated as it is in song and story, could not be traversed by covered wagons.

Let us consider for a moment the speed of this westward advance. In 1810 the St. Louis-Cairo stretch of the Mississippi was almost linked with the thin belt of settlement filtering down the Ohio to its mouth. By 1820 the frontier of settlement clung precariously to both banks of the Missouri as far as Jefferson City, Boonville, and Old Franklin. By 1830 Glasgow, Waverly, Lexington, and Westport Landing (now Kansas City) served as entrepôts for the rich argosies brought up by steamboats. Westport, located at the junction of the Missouri with the Kansas River, was a famous jumping-off point for the Santa Fe Trail, the fur trade, and the frontier military posts.

Between 1830 and 1850 steamboats gradually extended their sway above 1870. Even though many of those recorded on the Pacific Coast arrived by sailing vessel, while untold numbers made their way to the Missouri Valley, at first by covered wagon and later by train, the number that arrived in the Kansas-Nebraska-Dakota territories by steamboat (particularly between 1854 and 1867) must have been immense. The following figures show the growth of the two areas:

Population of Missouri Valley and Western States 1850-1870

Missouri Valley States:	1850	1860	1870
Missouri	682,044	1,182,012	1,721,295
Iowa	192,214	674,913	1,194,020
Kansas .....	.....	107,206	364,399
Nebraska .....	.....	28,841	122,993
Dakota Territory .....	.....	4,837	14,181
Western States:			
Colorado .....	.....	34,277	39,864
Wyoming .....	.....	.....	9,118
Montana .....	.....	.....	20,595
Nevada .....	.....	6,857	42,491
Utah	11,380	40,273	86,786
Idaho .....	.....	.....	14,999
Washington .....	.....	11,594	23,955
Oregon	13,294	52,465	90,923
California	92,597	379,994	560,247

Kansas City, but settlement was restricted to the Missouri-Iowa side of the Big Muddy. Thus, in 1840, the St. Joseph area had been reached, but the northern tier of Missouri counties still lay beyond the frontier. By 1850 settlers had pushed up the east bank of the Missouri to present-day Council Bluffs. Meanwhile, the land beyond the wide Missouri awaited the extinction of Indian titles and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. By 1860 settlers had spilled westward over the plains of Kansas and Nebraska and moved upstream past Sioux City to the Yankton area.⁸

The history of steamboating on the Missouri fits neatly into the story of this constantly moving frontier. Indeed, the story of one cannot be told without bringing in the other. Thus, the straggling settlements along the Lower Missouri welcomed the first steamboat only two years after the *Zebulon M. Pike* reached St. Louis in 1817. It was on May 19, 1819, that the St. Louis *Missouri Intelligencer* announced the departure of the steamboat *Independence* for Franklin and Chariton, Missouri. A week later the same newspaper recorded "with no ordinary sensations of pride and pleasure" the arrival of the *Independence* at Franklin with passengers and a cargo of flour, whisky, sugar, and iron castings. Cannon roared a salute, and the captain and passengers were regaled with a grand dinner. "At no distant period," the editor of the *Intelligencer* exulted, "may we see the industrious cultivator making his way as high as the *Yellow Stone*, and offering to the enterprising merchant and trader a surplus worthy of the fertile banks of the Missouri, yielding wealth to industry and enterprise."⁹

But this enthusiasm was short lived; the Missouri River was not yet conquered. In June, 1819, a fleet of five steamboats — the *Johnson*, the *Calhoun*, the *Expedition*, the *Jefferson*, and the *Western Engineer* — endeavored to stem the swift current of the Big Muddy as far as the site of the Lewis and Clark encampment at Council Bluff. Only one of these boats, the *Western Engineer*, actually ascended the Missouri above what is now Kansas City and succeeded in reaching its objective — modern Omaha.¹⁰

Between 1820 and 1840 a steadily increasing number of steamboats plied

⁸ Charles O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Baltimore, 1932), Plate 76-C,D,E,F,G, Plate 77-A,B,C.

⁹ St. Louis *Missouri Intelligencer*, May 21, 28, June 4, 1819, quoted in William J. Petersen, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (Iowa City, 1937), 81-3.

¹⁰ Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels . . .* (32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), 14:121-221; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1883), 2:1100-1101; Petersen, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*, 83-9.

the Lower Missouri — the 390 miles from Kansas City to the mouth of the Big Muddy. The Santa Fe trade, the transportation of troops and supplies, the traffic in furs and pelts, and the Indian trade served to augment the commerce of such squatter settlements as St. Charles, Boonville, Franklin, Chariton, Jefferson, Glasgow, and Westport Landing. When Charles Augustus Murray steamed up the Missouri in 1835, he found settlements in this area so numerous that deer rarely could be seen along the banks. Land prices on both sides of the river ranged from \$1.50 to \$5.00 per acre. Murray described Boonville as a "deserving" place, but he thought most settlements had unhealthy locations. At that time Liberty was the "last western village in the United States."¹¹

The activity of steamboats on the Lower Missouri was recorded in Missouri newspapers. Sixteen boats were operating in the spring of 1837 — the *Dart*, the *Howard*, the *Chariton*, the *Boonville*, the *Glasgow*, the *St. Lawrence*, the *Bridgewater*, the *Kanzas*, the *Astoria*, the *Wilmington*, the *American*, the *Emerald*, the *St. Peters*, the *Fayette*, the *A. M. Phillips*, and the *Belle of Missouri*. New boats were constantly entering the trade, but they were unable to meet the demands of the fast growing country. Freight and passenger rates were high in 1837, and all steamboats seemed to be doing a lucrative business.¹²

Four years later, in 1841, twenty-six steamboats were engaged in the Lower Missouri trade. Glasgow chronicled 312 steamboat arrivals that year, the regular packet *Jatan* making twenty-four weekly trips between that port and St. Louis. It was estimated that 46,000 tons of freight were transported by steam craft on the Missouri in 1841. Impressed by such activity, a Missouri editor pointed out that for years the Big Muddy had been considered scarcely navigable for keelboats whereas in 1841 "splendid" steamboats ran "night and day."¹³

Meanwhile, the 381-mile stretch between Kansas City and Sioux City began attracting an ever increasing number of steamboats. This section included such flourishing modern towns as Fort Leavenworth, St. Joseph, Council Bluffs, and Omaha, but between 1850 and 1870 it gave rise to a

¹¹ Charles Augustus Murray, *Travels in North America* (2 vols., London, 1839), 1:240-47.

¹² Dubuque *Iowa News*, June 3, 1837.

¹³ Columbia (Missouri) *Patriot*, March 19, 1842, quoted in the *Missouri Historical Review*, 28:168 (January, 1934).

score of thriving river towns — such as Bellevue, Nebraska City, and Brownville — that played a stellar role in the westward movement.¹⁴

When Rev. John Todd came to Fremont County, Iowa, in 1848, he found steamboating on the Missouri “slow and dangerous.” The kindly preacher made a “temporary settlement” near the southern boundary of Iowa, five miles above the present site of Nebraska City. “Boats passed up only at irregular intervals,” Rev. Todd relates, “and not unfrequently remained for weeks upon sandbars and snags.”¹⁵ Fortunately for these river towns, a dramatic change occurred in their economic status when the Forty Niners began streaming westward across Missouri and Iowa. The enterprising towns along the Missouri River served as springboards for the Santa Fe Trail, the Oregon Trail, and the Mormon Trail, and loud did each editor scream about the prowess of his town.

In 1857, for example, the *Nebraska Advertiser* declared no trade in the United States, and possibly in the world, employed as many steamboats as the Missouri River. Forty-six steamboats measuring 29,300 tons and valued at \$1,267,000 were running on the Missouri that year, and a dozen new boats were under construction. Furthermore, the editor pointed out, officers

¹⁴ The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, the admission of Minnesota in 1858, and the rapid settlement of western Iowa during the 1850's, each served as a tremendous impetus to steamboating on the Missouri prior to the Civil War. Augmenting this regular traffic was the trade accruing from the hordes of emigrants who used the towns from Kansas City to Sioux City as jumping-off points for the West. The following growth was registered by these towns between 1850 and 1870:

Missouri		
<i>Town</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>
*Kansas City	4,418	32,260
**St. Joseph	8,932	19,565
Kansas		
Kansas City (Wyandotte).....	1,920	2,940
Leavenworth	7,429	17,873
Nebraska		
Brownville	425	1,305
Nebraska City	1,922	6,050
Omaha	1,883	16,083
Iowa		
Council Bluffs	2,011	10,020
Sioux City	767	3,401
South Dakota		
Yankton	458	737
*Population 2,529 in 1850		
**Population 936 in 1846		

¹⁵ *History of Fremont County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1881), 593-4.

and crews on Missouri River steamboats received higher wages than were paid steamboatmen on other streams.¹⁶

One did not have to visit a large river town to discover activity. By July 1, 1857, fully 130 steamboats had docked at the Brownville wharf, usually landing both passengers and freight at almost every arrival.¹⁷ The amount of freight discharged at these bustling river towns sometimes exceeded the most sanguine dreams of an editor. On July 28, 1856, the *Nebraska Advertiser* noted that the steamboat *Edinburgh* left the largest lot of goods of the season at the Brownville wharf. One firm, Hoblitzell & Co., had received their second supply of the season, the freight bill amounting to over one thousand dollars for this single company!

When the local trade was augmented by traffic arising from the Forty Niners, the Pike's Peak gold rush, or the hosts moving westward over the Oregon and Mormon trails, river towns became a veritable bedlam of activity. An eastern traveler has left the following impression of St. Joseph at the opening of the Pike's Peak gold rush:

St. Joseph is a perfect jam, with "Peakers" and sharpers "takin' 'em in," horses, mules, oxen, men, women, children, wagons, wheelbarrows, hand-carts, auctioneers, runners, stool pigeons, greenhorns, and everything else you can imagine, and a thousand other things your imagination will fail to conceive. — Every thing is very high; board at a "one horse" hotel \$2.00 per day, and little rats of mules \$150. The folks think the whole United States will be here in a few days. Ten days ago a man could fit out here at a reasonable rate. There are hundreds starting from here, but they are the poorest of creation. I would not have believed it, but it is a fact, that there are hundreds now starting on foot, with nothing but a cotton sack and a few pounds of crackers and meat, and many with hand carts and wheelbarrows.

There are expresses going nearly every day; but such expresses! Four little mules to one common Chicago wagon. — They take one hundred pounds of baggage apiece for twelve men, and charge them \$50 apiece for the privilege of wading after the wagon and pulling it out of the mud.

I have done nothing yet but stand and look at the fun. I like to be here where everybody is going with a rush, not knowing where or what for. That's fun.

If I was home, with my present experience and feelings I think

¹⁶ Brownville *Nebraska Advertiser*, Sept. 3, 1857.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1857.

I would stay there till better satisfied: and you need not be surprised if I should bring this letter myself. I have not yet seen the first thing to serve as an anchor to the hope within!

NIMROD

P.S. — I have just seen butter sold at 75 cts per pound. — That's a specimen of the way we are gouged.¹⁸

There was a backwash of traffic accruing to steamboat captains and owners from these mining stampedes which has not been recorded by river historians. This arose from transporting those unfortunate souls back home because of ill health, lack of strength, flagging determination, or insufficient financial resources. "Nimrod" illustrates a Pike's Peak enthusiast about to return. A St. Louis editor records a similar situation with some Forty Niners:

Yesterday morning, the steamer "Kansas" arrived from St. Joseph. She had on board, as passengers, some ten or twelve persons who are just in from the encampments of the emigrants now crossing the plains for California. Some of these persons went as far as three hundred miles out, when, becoming discouraged from the fatigue and hardships of the journey they gave up the trip, and are now on their way back to their friends. Two or three are from the vicinity of Chicago, others reside in Ohio and Kentucky, and they all agree that the undertaking was more than they could conveniently stand. They also give anything but a flattering account of the health and harmony prevailing in the different companies, and seem to think that large numbers will be returning before the main body gets beyond Fort Laramie. These rumors, however, are to be taken with some degree of allowance as the dissatisfied ones now coming back may view matters in a worse condition than really exists.¹⁹

In addition to Forty Niners and Pike's Peakers, thousands of Mormons came upstream by steamboat to Omaha, bought their equipment and supplies, and headed westward across the Nebraska prairies for the State of Deseret. This Mormon trek across Nebraska had begun in 1847 and was nurtured by Missouri River steamboats until the completion of the Union Pacific snuffed out the trade. The arrival of the iron horse at St. Joseph did not eliminate the use of steamboats, for the Mormons still came up-

¹⁸ *Chicago Press & Tribune*, quoted in *Franklin (Iowa) Record*, April 18, 1859. See also the *Sioux City Eagle*, April 2, 1859.

¹⁹ *St. Louis Republican*, June 15, 1849.

stream to historic Florence to begin their overland trek. The *Sioux City Eagle* of June 4, 1859, records the following:

We venture the assertion that the Railroad packet *St. Mary* left for Omaha Saturday night with the largest passenger list ever before crowded on any steamer on the Western waters. She has nine hundred passengers aboard, seven hundred and thirty-five were Mormons on the lower decks. But very few of the Mormons took cabin passage, probably less than fifty, but the decks were one living mass of human beings. What a fearful responsibility rested on the pilot and engineer. Just think! Nine hundred souls entrusted to their care.

The following year the *Nebraska City News* of May 12, 1860, declared: "The *Emilie* brought up, on Thursday over four hundred Mormons destined for Salt Lake City. They passed on up to Florence to rendezvous for a few weeks. There were a fine lot of girls among them." On July 7, 1860, the *Omaha Nebraskan* noted the arrival at Florence of 580 Mormons who were destined to go out to Salt Lake City in small parties. The following week the steamboat *Omaha* brought up five hundred Mormons and the *West Wind* about six hundred more. About twelve hundred Mormons were estimated to be encamped at Florence awaiting transportation to Utah. Such reports were common in the Nebraska newspapers of that period.²⁰

The value of the Utah trade was not overlooked by enterprising Nebraskans. On April 30, 1859, the *Nebraska City News* recorded the following with smug satisfaction:

Messrs. Windsor, Lytton & Ewing shipped over fifty tons of freight on the *Isabella*, to this city, to be conveyed thence to Utah. These gentlemen are large transporters of freight, have been engaged in the business for years, are thoroughly conversant with the best routes across the plains, if any men can be. Their business has been done at Leavenworth. It will, in the future, be done at Nebraska City. — This is the right sort of testimony in favor of the Central Route from Nebraska City, to the mines, and of Nebraska City as an outfitting and shipping point. This is the way the testimony rolls in, without any flaming circulars, or runners, in favor of the Nebraska City route.

Phil E. Chappell, who served as a steamboat clerk on the Missouri from 1856 to 1860, considered the following boats among the finest on the river

²⁰ *Nebraska City News*, July 13, 1861.

in 1858, the banner year of Missouri River steamboating: *Admiral*, *Alonzo Child*, *Asa Wilgus*, *Clara*, *C. W. Sombart*, *David Tatum*, *D. S. Carter*, *E. A. Ogden*, *Edinburgh*, *Emigrant*, *Empire State*, *F. X. Aubrey*, *Isabella*, *James H. Lucas*, *John D. Perry*, *Kate Howard*, *Meteor*, *Minnehaha*, *Peerless*, *Platte Valley*, *Polar Star*, *South Western*, *Spread Eagle*, *Thomas E. Tutt*, *Twilight*, *War Eagle*, and *White Cloud*.

According to Chappell the crew of a first-class steamboat ran from seventy-five to ninety people. It included a captain, two pilots, two clerks, four engineers, two mates, a watchman, a lamplighter, a porter, a carpenter, and a painter. In addition to these, there were four cooks, a steward, two chambermaids, a deck crew of about forty men, and a cabin crew, generally colored, of about twenty. There were also a barber and a barkeeper, for a bar was always an indispensable attachment to a first-class western steamboat. He wrote:

The wages paid were commensurate with the size of the boat, the labor, and danger, as well as the profits of the business. Captains received about \$200 per month; clerks, \$150; mates, \$125; engineers about the same as mates. Of course, these wages included board.

It was the pilot, however, who divided the profits with the owner, and sometimes received the larger share. He was the autocrat of the boat and absolutely controlled her navigation. It was for him to determine when the boat should run at night and when she should lay by. He received princely wages, sometimes as much as \$1200 per month, and he spent it like a thoroughbred. These exorbitant wages were demanded and paid as a result of a combination among the pilots called the "Pilots' Benevolent Association." It controlled the number of apprentices, and, as no man could "learn the river," as it was called, without "being shown," it absolutely controlled the number of pilots. It had a "dead-sure cinch," and in compactness, in rigid enforcement of rules, and in keeping wages at high-water mark it was a complete success, and continued to maintain its organization as long as steamboating was profitable.²¹

It should be pointed out that pilots who confined their work to the St. Louis-Kansas City run were likely to receive less than those who were required to learn the river all the way up to Omaha and Sioux City. And those hardy souls whose lot it was to pilot a boat all the way up to Fort

²¹ Chappell, "History of the Missouri River," 284-94.

Benton commanded the highest salaries of all. In 1866 the *St. Louis Missouri Republican* listed the salaries of officers in the Fort Benton trade as follows: masters, \$200; clerks, \$150; mates, \$125; engineers, \$125; and pilots, \$1,000.²²

But such salaries and profits did not always prevail. The Civil War virtually snuffed out steamboating on the Missouri. Many boats were commandeered by the Union forces to be used as troopships, hospital ships, and gun boats. Guerrillas plundered those vessels that ventured upstream, frequently firing on the passengers and setting fire to the boats. In September of 1861 the *Des Moines*, *Jatan*, *White Cloud*, and the *War Eagle* ascended the Missouri with the 38th Indiana Regiment and succeeded in capturing the *Sunshine*, which had been actively engaged in serving Confederate forces. Newspapers were constantly filled with stories of depredations. In the fall of 1863 the *Marcella* was plundered by Confederate sympathizers who removed large quantities of United States government freight destined for the forts on the Upper Missouri. The following June the *Sunshine* and the *Prairie Rose* were fired into near Waverly, and in July the *Glasgow*, *Sunshine*, *Welcome*, and three other packets were set on fire by "dreaded Rebel Steamboat Burners" while they lay at the levee.²³

From the start the federal government took strong measures to curb such activities. But the introduction of federal troops caused some editors to let off a wail of protest. In June of 1861 the *St. Joseph Gazette* declared:

Business. — It is just folly to speak of business in this city — there is no trade — everything is dead and dried up. We are now experiencing the effects of having troops among us. No man wants to come here to buy or sell, for he will not feel that his person and property are safe in a city where troops have to be stationed to keep, as is alleged, the lawless citizens from committing depredations. There are very few here now who are not praying for just such times and quiet as were witnessed here one week ago. Experience is the only school in which some men will acquire knowledge.

The Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, which reprinted the above, commented as follows: "It will appear from the organ of the secessionists at St. Joseph,

²² *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, quoted in the *Captain Wooldridge Manuscript* (Memphis, Tennessee).

²³ *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, Sept. 22, 1861; Sept. 15, 1863; June 6, July 15, 1864.

that our Missouri neighbors are just now beginning to reap the fruits of their treason."²⁴

The effect of a Missouri River closed to trade was recognized by all. On July 27, 1861, the *Sioux City Register* declared:

The conflict which is going on between the Federal and rebel forces in Missouri is having a bad effect upon the interests and business of the upper Missouri country — inasmuch as the navigation of the river by steamboats is seriously if not entirely impeded. At present steamboats are not allowed to leave St. Louis, and as a necessary consequence the means of receiving goods and of shipping their surplus products are denied to the people of the Missouri river country. It is to be hoped that this state of things will not continue long. The interests of the people demand the free navigation of the Missouri and if this right is denied them, they will be under the necessity of employing the services of the "great Missouri river opener" — Senator Grimes.

Three months later, in October, 1861, the same editor declared:

The Missouri river is effectually blockaded by the secessionists in Missouri, consequently we need not look for another boat at this place this fall. Our merchants are too poorly supplied with goods for the coming winter to supply the wants of the large scope of country depending upon Sioux City for merchandise. If they do not replenish their stocks from some other source, we fear we will put on short rations before spring.²⁵

Despite such hardships a Sioux City editor could not help writing the following eulogy:

There is not a more desirable region in the West than this Upper Missouri. Fertile in production — genial in climate — favored in locality — and settled by an industrious — high toned population, it gives reliable promise of a prosperous and important future. We leave with reluctance, and shall always cherish with fond pride our frontier experience and associations.²⁶

The discovery of gold in Montana in 1862 served as a magnet in attracting steamboats to Fort Benton. Unfortunately, the Civil War proved a re-

²⁴ St. Joseph (Missouri) *Gazette*, quoted in the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, June 22, 1861.

²⁵ *Sioux City Register*, Oct. 5, 1861.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1862.

tarding factor, for only the *Emilie*, the *Shreveport*, the *Key West No. 2*, and the *Spread Eagle* were recorded at Fort Benton in 1862. Two boats reached the vicinity of that remote outpost in 1863, while four vessels put in an appearance in 1864. Despite the desperate need for food, merchandise, and mining machinery, the number of arrivals did not increase appreciably in 1865.²⁷

The year 1866 opened up the golden era of steamboating on the Upper Missouri. Thirty-one steamboat arrivals were chronicled at Fort Benton, or half again as many as had been recorded in the previous seven years. The *St. Johns* and the *Deer Lodge* opened the season of navigation on May 18. The *Deer Lodge* returned to Fort Benton from St. Louis on July 13, the first steamboat to make two round trips between those points during the same season. On June 11 soldiers and civilians saw seven boats lying at the Fort Benton levee, and many doubtless forecast the end of costly and cumbersome ox trains overland from Utah. By the time the last boat had departed on July 19, a total of 4,686 tons of freight (exclusive of government supplies) had been discharged at Fort Benton from the far-famed mountain boats that formed the Northwestern Transportation Company.

During the next three years the Fort Benton levee exhibited the same bustle and activity. Thirty-seven steamboats docked at Fort Benton in 1867, and two others, the *Imperial* and the *Huntsville*, came as far as Cow Island. Thirty-five arrivals were chronicled in 1868 and twenty-four in 1869. Although fewer different steamboats were recorded in 1869, there was more double-tripping, so that the total number of arrivals actually exceeded those of 1867 or 1868. Furthermore, the steamboats apparently carried heavier cargoes in 1869, for they discharged 4,870 tons of freight—the heaviest tonnage on record. Government freight was not included in these figures. A precipitate decline in steamboat arrivals occurred after 1869, the advent of the iron horse being a decisive factor. The completion of the Union Pacific was itself important, but the tapping of such points as Sioux City, Yankton, Pierre, and Bismarck by the railroad hastened the withdrawal of the mountain boats from the Upper Missouri, just as it had caused the withdrawal of steamboats from the Lower and Middle Missouri.²⁸

²⁷ "Steamboat Arrivals at Fort Benton, Montana, and Vicinity," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, 1:317-25 (1876).

²⁸ Petersen, "The Log of the *Henry M. Shreve* to Fort Benton in 1869," 537-78.

Hurricane winds sometimes held steamboats to the bank for hours; on other occasions moonless nights made piloting impossible. Saw-toothed snags and hidden sandbars added to the dangers. Insurance rates were so high that captains rarely had enough to protect themselves against the loss of boat and cargo. Newspapers invariably recorded that a sunken vessel was only partially covered by insurance. In 1866 insurance rates on side-wheel boats was $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while sternwheel boats paid 8 per cent. Thus, a tremendous initial outlay had to be paid on a boat and cargo valued at from \$50,000 to \$100,000.²⁹

Such rates were not out of order, since the Big Muddy proved a veritable steamboat graveyard. Captain W. J. McDonald has compiled a list of 441 vessels sunk or damaged between 1819 and 1925, involving a property loss of \$8,823,500. Snags accounted for 240 of these victims, while ice damaged or destroyed seventy-nine more. Forty-nine steamboats were destroyed by fire. Seventeen others were wrecked by bridges. It should be pointed out that the Kansas City bridge was completed in 1869 and the Omaha bridge in 1872. Only ten steamboats were victims of explosions, a small number compared with the losses from other causes.³⁰

There could be a note of finality in a steamboat explosion — both for steamboat and passengers. Thus, on April 9, 1852, the *Saluda* exploded near Lexington, Missouri, with such tremendous force that "the cabin and all the wood-work forward of the wheel-house were completely demolished, and not a piece of timber was left above the guards. The boat sank within a few minutes. The books were all lost, and the names of all the passengers who were killed in the explosion or who sank with the boat could not be ascertained. The number of those who perished was estimated at one hundred."³¹

The danger of Indian attack in the Dakotas and Montana was always very real. This danger, coupled with the hardships and risks of the long

²⁹ Chappell "History of the Missouri River," 291. Underwriters themselves had to be careful. On September 17, 1859, the *Sioux City Eagle* declared: "The steamer *St. Mary* was sunk a week or ten days since near Brownville, Nebraska. No lives lost, and most of the freight was saved, as we learn that it was principally placed above deck, where it could readily be gotten off, the officers probably thinking the boat *might* sink, as she was an old tub and was loaded down with heavy insurance. We have heard of boats being sunk when too heavily insured."

³⁰ McDonald, "The Missouri River and Its Victims," 215-42, 455-80, 581-607.

³¹ E. W. Gould, *Fifty Years on the Mississippi* (St. Louis, 1889), 478, 479.

journey, prevented all but the most venturesome captains from entering the mountain trade. Of the eighty-five different steamboats that reached Fort Benton between 1860 and 1869, a mere handful could be counted regulars in the trade. The veteran of the trade was the *Deer Lodge*, with five consecutive seasons to her credit by 1869. Three boats — the *Huntsville*, the *Miner*, and the *Only Chance* — had plied four years in the mountain trade. Seven others — the *Benton*, the *Big Horn*, the *Cora*, the *Mountaineer*, the *St. Johns*, the *Tom Stevens*, and the *Viola Belle* — had engaged in the St. Louis-Fort Benton trade three seasons. Most of these boats had operated between 1866 and 1869, and the *Deer Lodge* and *Viola Belle* were destined to return to Fort Benton in 1870. Over half of the eighty-five boats made but one trip to Fort Benton and never ventured to return.

The average mountain boat was light of draft, sturdy of hull, and equipped with powerful engines to buck the swift current of the Missouri. It was smaller and lacked the costly gingerbread and trappings of Lower Mississippi packets. Only three of those engaging in the mountain trade in 1869 measured over five hundred tons — the *Peter Balen*, the *Henry M. Shreve*, and the *Mountaineer*. In contrast, six measured less than three hundred tons, ranging from the 207-ton *Andrew Ackley* to the 299-ton *Miner*. The more typical mountain boats ranged from the 358-ton *Huntsville* to the 493-ton *Deer Lodge*, the average tonnage being 390. The amount of freight carried varied with the size of the steamboat; in 1866 the average cargo of through freight was estimated to be 290 tons at \$12.50 per hundred pounds. Since cabin fare cost \$300 that year it is not surprising that the 545-ton *Peter Balen* showed receipts of \$102,690 and a net profit of \$70,690, one of the most profitable trips ever recorded.³²

The mountain boats were important to Nebraska outfitting towns because a considerable amount of upriver as well as downstream trade sprang up from their presence on the Big Muddy. But the major emphasis must be placed upon those craft that plied on the Lower and Middle Missouri between the advent of the *Western Engineer* in 1819 and the arrival of the iron horse at Council Bluffs in 1867, a year that very significantly coincides with the admission of Nebraska into the Union. The contribution of Missouri River steamboats did much to hasten statehood for Nebraska.

For the average passenger, steamboating on the Missouri was filled with

³² Petersen, "The Log of the *Henry M. Shreve* to Fort Benton in 1869," 541-2.

many interesting adventures. The opening and closing of navigation, the process of wooding up, the colorful array of passengers who jammed steamboats from stem to stern, the presence of blacklegs and gamblers, steamboat accidents and steamboat races, the fine foods served in abundance, the exciting dances held each evening in the cabins of the more palatial boats, all elicited comments from passengers. The experiences of one passenger — the gifted Englishman, Charles Augustus Murray — must suffice.

I found the river much lower than when I had passed up it in June, and the navigation infinitely more dangerous; the huge black snags were in some places as thick as the trees of the forest, and as I stood on the deck and looked at their serried ranks, upon which we were bearing down at twelve or fourteen miles an hour, with all the united force of current and steam, I could not trace with my eye any course or channel by which our craft could make good her way: but being a sufficiently old traveller to believe that "everybody knows his own business best;" and seeing that the captain and owners were neither intoxicated nor mad, it was rather with curiosity and admiration than alarm, that I saw our pilot charge gallantly down upon this forest of snags. His name was Baptiste, and he is one of the most celebrated pilots on the western waters; his countenance was calm and grave, and his quiet piercing eye seemed to calculate the number and position of the giant palisades through which he was to force a passage. On we went, now rubbing on the starboard, now scraping on the larboard side, but always avoiding a direct collision. Our course, though serpentine, was extremely rapid, and in a few minutes the forest of snags lay in our rear.

Soon afterwards, we struck the bottom, so hard as to shake all the chairs in the cabin, and to affect considerably the vertical position of their respective tenants! In Britain, every soul would have rushed to the deck; but I saw everybody else remain perfectly quiet, and I did not see why I should give myself any more uneasiness than my neighbors. I soon found out, that if a person feels any objection to such an occurrence, he had better not descend the Missouri in September, as we grounded frequently for a few minutes, and rubbed our keel against the bed of the river half a dozen times in the course of every hour. . . .

It was extremely painful to remark the wan and unhealthy appearance of all the settlers on the banks of the Missouri, between the Fort and St. Louis. I must have landed twenty times, and I did not see a single family where the fever and ague had not "chased the native colour from their cheeks. . . ."

To return to the steam-boat: — There is nothing in America that strikes a foreigner so much as the real republican equality existing in the Western States, which border on the wilderness; while that of the Eastern States is being daily infringed on and modified . . . the distinction of rank and station are now as much observed in Philadelphia and Boston, as they are in London; indeed, I am inclined to believe they are more so, only with this difference, that being, as it were, illegal and unsanctioned by public opinion, they are adhered to with secret pertinacity, and owe their origin and strength principally to wealth; but in the Far West, where society is in its infancy, where all are engaged in making money by bringing into cultivation waste lands, or raising minerals, — where men of leisure are unknown, and the arm of the law is feeble in protecting life and property, — where the tone of manners, conversation, and accomplishment, is necessarily much lower than in states and cities longer established, — here it is that true republican equality exists, and here only can it exist. This may be illustrated by the narration of simple and apparently trifling facts: for instance, I have seen the clerk of a steam-boat, and a grocer in a small village on the Missouri, sit down to take grog or play at cards with a member of Congress and an officer in the army; laughing together, swearing together, and the names of Bill, Dick, and Harry, passing familiarly between them!

I confess I was much astonished at the gambling on board; the parties were French traders and others engaged in different branches of business up the Missouri. I remember seeing 600 dollars staked on a single card!³³

One cannot close without saying a few words about the freight carried on these indomitable little craft. In 1858 the *Florence* churned up to the Brownville wharf with a number of passengers and their household goods, several small lots of freight, and five thousand fruit trees. That same year the steamboat *Hannibal* arrived at Nebraska City with 109 wagons for Russell, Majors & Waddell.³⁴

Once the agriculturist had broken the rich Nebraska soil he began to produce abundant crops that found a ready market downstream. Thus, in 1859 the Nebraska *Advertiser* chronicled the departure of the *Peerless* with one thousand sacks of corn, while the *Emma* went downstream with

³³ Murray, *Travels in North America*, 2:82, 86.

³⁴ Brownville *Nebraska Advertiser*, April 22, 1858; *Nebraska City News*, June 4, 1859.

another seven thousand sacks.³⁵ A few weeks later the editor of the *Omaha Nebraskian* observed that the *Omaha* had passed down with 5,250 sacks of corn taken aboard at points above Omaha.³⁶

Even Nebraska potatoes were plentiful in 1859. The *St. Joseph Journal* complained that a shipment of potatoes by steamboat from Omaha had brought the price down from 50 cents to 40 cents a bushel. "How potatoes can be raised in Nebraska Territory and then shipped down here on a steamboat and sold 10 cents cheaper than those in our immediate vicinity can afford to sell them, we are free to confess that we cannot just now understand," the editor complained. He must have gained little comfort from the explanation in the *Nebraska City News* that they had an "ever-lasting pile" of potatoes that were selling for only 25 cents a bushel there.³⁷

Bustling Council Bluffs and Sioux City were equally prosperous Missouri River towns. Every steamboat arrival and departure at these thriving Iowa towns was chronicled by enthusiastic local editors. Farm machinery, grindstones, household goods, flour, coffee, sugar, tea, molasses, fruit, and foods of all kinds were recorded faithfully and with no small amount of pride. In 1861 a Council Bluffs editor noted the arrival of the *Omaha* with foundry equipment, drygoods, coal oil, lamps, drugs, fruit, perfumery, medicines, oysters, and a "heap" of other "notions." Various magazines, including the *Atlantic Monthly*, were also brought up on the *Omaha*. The editor was particularly excited about a shipment of "Ladies and Gentlemens Skates" which had arrived for the hardware merchants — Hurford & Kinney. "When the skating season commences," he declared, "may we be there to witness the sport."³⁸

Following the Civil War both the *Nonpareil* and the *Bugle* noted that every steamboat arrived in 1865 with huge quantities of freight for Council Bluffs' merchants. The *Bugle* asserted with pardonable pride that those who

³⁵ Brownville *Nebraska Advertiser*, June 23, 1859.

³⁶ Quoted in the *Nebraska City News*, July 16, 1859. This trade continued for more than a decade and did not decline until the arrival of the railroad. On July 1, 1868, the *Nebraska City News* noted the departure of the *Sunset*, "loaded to the guards" with corn belonging to Morrison, Tomlin & Co., bound upstream for Omaha. Three months later, the same paper declared jubilantly that Nebraska was the "best grain growing State in the Union" and that Nebraska City was the "best grain mart" in Nebraska.

³⁷ *Nebraska City News*, Nov. 6, 1858.

³⁸ Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, Nov. 2, 9, 1861.

advertised in its columns always received the most and best of everything. Emigrants were urged to outfit themselves at Council Bluffs, where the best could be bought for less. Throughout the summer months businessmen received tons of merchandise for the fall trade, and wagons and drays were kept busy carting the goods from the steamboat landing to the bustling streets downtown. In October every steamboat that arrived at Council Bluffs was "loaded to the guards" with a "world of goods" for the Iowa pioneers who lived along the Missouri slope.³⁹

Construction of the Union Pacific Railroad served as an additional boon to steamboat captains and owners whose sturdy craft toiled up the Big Muddy between St. Louis and Council Bluffs. In June of 1865 the *Nonpareil* noted the arrival of three steamboats, all heavily laden with railroad iron for the Union Pacific. In July the *Julia* arrived with 1,250 bars of railroad iron for the Union Pacific and one hundred men to help lay the pontoon bridges. The following spring the *Sam Gaty* arrived with 300 tons of merchandise and railroad iron and the *Amanda* followed close in her wake with 200 tons of iron. Although the completion of the North Western Railroad to Council Bluffs on January 22, 1867, cut sharply into this Missouri River traffic, steamboats continued to arrive with supplies until the driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory Point in Utah on May 10, 1869, snuffed out this lucrative trade.⁴⁰

Modesty was unknown to Council Bluffs editors when singing the praises of their thriving river town.

Council Bluffs is a city containing a little over 3,000 inhabitants and does as much business as any city on the eastern border of the State containing three times the number of inhabitants. Its business houses, though not so numerous as in some of the cities on the Mississippi river, are much more extensive and each one does as much business as three or four of the Mississippi river houses. The trade is principally with freighters and merchants, who trade with, and do business in the mining country west of us, and when one of our heavy houses fails to make sales of a thousand or more dollars a day, the proprietors begin to look blue and say, "Times are dull — nothing doing."⁴¹

³⁹ Council Bluffs *Bugle*, March 30, Oct. 26, 1865; Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, Aug. 26, 1865.

⁴⁰ Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, June 17, July 27, 1865; April 20, 1866.

⁴¹ Quoted in E. Douglas Branch, "Railroads Came to Council Bluffs," *The Palimpsest*, 10:201-229 (June, 1929).

The same story was repeated at Sioux City, a bustling frontier town located just below the mouth of the Big Sioux River, 771 miles from the mouth of the Missouri. Sioux City received its first real impetus in 1856 when the steamboat *Omaha* arrived with a sawmill, lumber, drygoods, hardware, and other commodities. It cost \$24,000 to bring this freight, valued at about \$70,000, upstream from St. Louis. Thereafter steamboating became the primary means of transportation and communication between Sioux City and the outside world.⁴²

Sioux City could boast two newspapers in 1857 — the *Register* and the *Eagle*. Between vitriolic sallies at each other, the editors of these rival organs recorded the growth of Missouri River steamboat traffic at Sioux City. Thus, throughout 1857 the *Sioux City Eagle* noted with genuine pleasure the trade in buffalo robes and furs brought in by friendly Indians, mostly in Mackinaw boats down the Missouri. During one week in June, 1857, Frost, Todd & Co., the heaviest dealers in furs, received by steamboat from the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers furs and skins to the value of many thousand dollars, one consignment alone containing 7,567 tanned buffalo robes, 739 beaver skins, 32 elk skins, 1 moose skin, and 35 pelt packages.⁴³

The traffic in furs and pelts continued for more than two decades. In the spring of 1863 the firm of H. D. Booge & Co. received a splendid lot of robes and furs from Fort Pierre. The following August the *Nellie Rogers* arrived in Sioux City from the Upper Missouri with 17,000 buffalo robes belonging to the American Fur Company.⁴⁴ The traffic in furs and pelts continued, even after the arrival of the railroad. On June 22, 1872, the *Sioux City Weekly Times* declared:

Over 16 car-loads of furs and hides have been shipped from here this season. Last year, and before, they were always shipped to New York and Chicago and then sold, but this year they have all been sold here, thus making it the fur market of the Northwest, now and hereafter. Over 4 car-loads more are expected down next week, making a grand total of 20 car-loads of furs sold shipped in Sioux City in 1872.

⁴² Petersen, *Iowa — The Rivers of Her Valleys*, 222-4; *Sioux City Eagle*, June 18, July 9, 1859.

⁴³ *History of the Counties of Woodbury and Plymouth, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1890), 71.

⁴⁴ *Sioux City Register*, April 14, Aug. 15, 1863.

The fur trade was of little consequence when compared with the traffic arising from immigrants and immigrant supplies. In 1859 the *Sioux City Eagle* reported that a gristmill would be brought up on the next boat. Beef cattle were already being brought into Sioux City for shipment to St. Louis, and the editor believed stock raising would pay handsomely. Three weeks later the *Omaha* arrived with a gristmill for Bedard & Roesch. She left with a number of cattle and several hundred sacks of corn. On July 30, 1859, the *Omaha* brought over 100 tons of merchandise and departed downstream with a heavy cargo of corn. By September 10, 1859, thirteen different steamboat arrivals were recorded, the *Omaha* and the *Florence* being the most frequent visitors at the Sioux City levee. On September 17 it was reported that the *Omaha* and the *Florence* would probably be the last boats of the season. The arrival of the *Omaha* was awaited with anxiety, since she had aboard the "largest stock of groceries" ever to come to the Upper Missouri — \$5,000 worth for H. D. Booge & Co. alone.⁴⁵

The *Florence*, one of the best known and most popular steamboats in the Sioux City trade, was commanded by Captain Joseph Throckmorton, who commenced steamboating on the Upper Mississippi in 1828 and during the next twenty years commanded a dozen boats in that trade. Throckmorton ended his career as an active Upper Mississippi captain in 1848. For a few years he sold insurance in St. Louis, but the urge of a pulsing steamboat overpowered him, and Throckmorton returned to his former occupation on the Missouri River. For three years he commanded the *Genoa*, which he built in 1854. In 1857 he built the *Florence*, running her to Sioux City and the ports above the Big Sioux.⁴⁶

The *Florence* was as popular as her genial commander. On April 28, 1859, the *Sioux City Register* recorded her arrival with freight for several Sioux City merchants. The *Florence* continued upstream to Fort Randall, for which point she was loaded with goods for Frost, Todd & Co. She required eleven days to make the roundtrip between Sioux City and Fort Randall. Returning to St. Louis, the *Florence* loaded for another trip to the Upper Missouri, and was soon churning her way up the Big Muddy. She reached Fort Stewart, one hundred miles above the Yellowstone, in twenty-three days from St. Louis, the shortest time on record. She experienced

⁴⁵ *Sioux City Eagle*, June 18, 25, July 9, 16, 30, Sept. 10, 17, 1859.

⁴⁶ William J. Petersen, "Captain Joseph Throckmorton," *The Palimpsest*, 10:129-44 (April, 1929).

more difficulty on her downstream trip because of a rapidly falling river and the absence of a well-cut channel. According to the *Register*:

Capt. Throckmorton reports that game is exceedingly abundant — and that the tables of the *Florence*, during the trip, have been plentifully supplied with the meat of buffalo, elk and antelope. Warm weather seems to prevail North rather than South of us. About Ft. Pierre the thermometer indicated, on shore and in the shade 110° on the 4th inst., 108° on the 5th inst., and 105° on the 6th inst. — Passengers on board say that the heat was almost intolerable.

Think of the *Florence*, one of the largest sized boats and heavily freighted, making a successful trip from St. Louis to Ft. Stewart, a distance of 2,500 miles within a few weeks, and who will deny that the Upper Missouri country has a future of unrivalled wealth, commerce and prosperity.⁴⁷

The following spring, in 1860, the St. Louis *Republican* printed the following notice for its readers:⁴⁸

Capt. Throckmorton's elegant steamer *Florence* has been thoroughly repaired and painted, and is now at the landing, foot of Olive Street, receiving for Council Bluffs and Omaha. The *Florence* will make one trip to the Bluffs, and thereafter will run as a regular St. Louis and Sioux City packet. She will take the place heretofore so well filled by the Omaha, and the people of Sioux City may depend upon having a packet worthy of their flourishing town. The *Florence* and her officers are not unknown in the Upper Missouri and we predict for the *Florence* a successful season.

With Joseph Throckmorton in command and J. E. Gorman serving as clerk, the *Florence* became extremely popular with Sioux Citizens. Beginning with her first appearance in late April, the *Florence* discharged hundreds of tons of freight at the Sioux City levee before the season of navigation came to a close. Most of the time she continued upstream to Fort Randall, heavily freighted for that military outpost.⁴⁹

In July the editor of the *Sioux City Register* boarded the *Florence* for the roundtrip to Fort Randall, which required four days. A happy feature of this trip occurred while lying at the fort. Captain Throckmorton invited

⁴⁷ *Sioux City Register*, April 28, May 12, July 14, 1859.

⁴⁸ Quoted in the *Sioux City Register*, March 10, 1860.

⁴⁹ *Sioux City Register*, April 28, May 12, June 2, 9, 23, 1860.

the officers with their wives aboard, accompanied by the fine band of the Fourth Artillery. According to an eyewitness:

The band gave us some of their beautiful and artistic pieces, and also quadrilles, waltzes and polkas, for those disposed to join in the dance. Altogether, it was a pleasant and lively party. Capt. Throckmorton had prepared a fine display of rockets and other fireworks for the occasion, which we think must have astonished the aborigines encamped in the vicinity.

The *Florence* continued to ply in the Sioux City trade until 1864, when she was snagged and sunk near Sumner, Kansas.⁵⁰

The contributions of such steamboats as the *Omaha* and the *Florence* to the growth of Council Bluffs and Sioux City were immense. Until the arrival of the iron horse, the Big Muddy was truly the course of empire, and western Iowa as well as the Mountain States owe much to the indomitable captains and their sturdy craft that plied the tawny Missouri as it flowed inexorably onward to its union with the Mississippi just above St. Louis.

Few streams have been so universally maligned as the Muddy Missouri. In a letter to the New York *Tribune* in 1866, Bayard Taylor wrote:

Even when one reaches the Missouri, there is little in that ugliest of all rivers to divert one's attention. A single picture of the swift tide of liquid yellow mud, with its dull, green walls of cottonwood trees beyond, is equivalent to a panorama of the whole stream. For the seventy or eighty miles during which we skirted it, the turbid surface was unrelieved by a sail, unbroken by the paddles of single steamer. Deserted, monotonous, hideous, treacherous, with its forever shifting sands and snags, it almost seems to repel settlement, even as it repels poetry and art.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Sioux City *Register*, July 14, 1860. The same issue editorialized in another column as follows on the *Florence*: "This favorite steamer arrived at this city on Sunday morning last, and after discharging a large amount of freight for our business men, passed up to Fort Randall. This boat is rapidly gaining in popularity among the people of the Upper Missouri; and certainly no boat ever merited in a larger degree the public confidence than does the *Florence*. Her officers are prompt, accommodating and trustworthy, and are ever ready and willing to devote their services to the performance of acts of accommodation for their friends and patrons. In this connection we might state that Capt. Gorman [clerk] brings us cheering news of Douglas' prospects in Missouri. The sentiment of the State is overwhelmingly in favor of the regular Democratic nominees, and in November next the vote of Missouri will be recorded in favor of Douglas and Johnson."

⁵¹ Quoted in the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, July 21, 1866.

On September 14, 1867, a writer penned the following letter from Nebraska City to the *Weekly Oskaloosa* (Iowa) *Herald*:

A few lines from the banks of the Missouri may not be amiss — that is, if they are not like that river — very muddy. The truth is, the Missouri has no beauty in it; it is wild and furious in the spring, a terror to the honest yeomanry upon its banks — and in summer, as now, low, crooked and ragged with stumps and trees, now rooting and robbing from Iowa, and then stealing from Nebraska, only to bestow its ill-gotten gain in the shape of a sand-bar upon the river to the terror of the river pilots. Still, if “sermons are in freaks,” I suppose the Missouri should afford some lesson for a weary preacher, and for all lovers of streams and rivers. — It breaks at least the monotony of prairie life.

The flourishing cities and towns in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa are the best answer the historian can give to these humorous albeit short-sighted commentaries. For, despite destructive flood and frightful erosion, the Missouri has proved itself to be one of the most valuable assets in the great valley that bears its name.

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY IN IOWA, 1872

*By Mildred Throne**

As the presidential year of 1872 dawned, the Republican party, triumphant since 1860, was beginning to show the stresses and strains of long power. Grant's first term was drawing to a close with some members of his party in Congress and in the nation in open revolt. The Democrats watched this growing rift, hoping that they might capitalize on a split in the ranks of the party that had for twelve years kept them out of office.

Grant's first term had dulled some of the military glamour of his name. Such powerful Republicans as Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, and Carl Schurz, among others, had dared to raise their voices against him. Corruption and scandal within the party had been brought to light; Grant's control of the patronage, by which he could reward or punish, had made enemies as well as friends; the Reconstruction policies of his Congress had brought Ku Kluxism to a peak in the South; and his efforts to annex Santo Domingo had alienated the respected Charles Sumner. Furthermore, Grant's political naivete had led him to accept the domination of some of the worst elements of his party. Roscoe Conkling, Oliver P. Morton, Ben Butler, and others had more influence in the White House than had Sumner, Schurz, or Lyman Trumbull. Spurred by demands for reform, amnesty for the prostrate South, and pleas for states' rights which had a strangely Democratic ring, and sparked by open revolt in Carl Schurz's Missouri, a faction of "Liberal Republicans" began to take shape in 1871.

The political semantics of the seventies are often confusing by modern standards. The dominant wing of the Republican party was known as "radical," but they also liked to use the term "progressive." The revolting faction was known as "liberal," but they also had adopted the adjective "conservative," as had the Democrats. The Radicals stood for a stern policy toward the South, making every effort to keep the governments of the Southern states under their control; for a protective tariff to aid the business interests of the East; for Negro suffrage in the South, where the votes of

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grateful black men would keep the Democratic whites from power; and, quite naturally, for the maintenance of their own control of the government, as the party of "loyal" men against the inroads of the "rebels" and "traitors" in the Democratic ranks. The Liberals, on the other hand, stood for civil service reform, amnesty for the South, less federal interference in local affairs, and free trade. This position would naturally attract Democrats.

The national picture was repeated in miniature in many of the states, where an anti-Grant sentiment was growing. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri were in open revolt by 1871, led by strong men in their states. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois also had powerful leaders to wave the Liberal banner.

In Iowa, safely Republican since 1856, the Republican party was dominated by General Grenville M. Dodge, railroader and politician; by James S. Clarkson, editor of the *Iowa State Register* of Des Moines, the state's leading newspaper; and by newly-elected Senator William Boyd Allison. This group, backed up by such leading Republicans as ex-Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, James F. Wilson, the entire congressional delegation in Washington, and a goodly number of party wheel horses throughout the state, had in 1871 elected their choice for governor, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, and in January of 1872 had defeated Senator James Harlan's bid for re-election by deposing him in favor of William B. Allison. Some Democrats tried to equate the defeat of Harlan, a strong Grant man, with the anti-Grant movements in other states, but the Harlan-Allison contest was an internal struggle for power within the Iowa Republican party. The Dodge-Clarkson-Allison leadership was every bit as pro-Grant as was the Harlan wing.¹ Any Liberal revolt in Iowa would have to come from some other group.

The Liberal Republican movement, which had its birth in Missouri in the late sixties,² received little attention in Iowa newspapers until after the fall election of 1871. Since Iowa's newspapers were largely Republican, of a

¹ For election of Allison, see Dan Elbert Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 152-67; for C. C. Carpenter, see Mildred Throne, "Electing an Iowa Governor, 1871: Cyrus Clay Carpenter," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:335-70 (October, 1950). See also, Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919), 22; *Davenport Democrat*, Feb. 1, 1872; *Elkader Journal*, March 27, 1872.

² Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, 28. For the Missouri Liberals, see Thomas S. Barclay, "The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 20:3-78 (October, 1925), 262-332 (January, 1926), 406-437 (April, 1926), 515-64 (July, 1926); 21:56-108 (October, 1926).

strong Radical stamp, this Republican rift had been given no publicity at first. Recognition of the growing revolt was played up by the Democratic editors, however.

One of the strongest of these Democratic editors was Edward H. Thayer of the *Clinton Age*. Thayer's suggestion, as early as November of 1871, that the Democrats select "a man who was almost a republican" in the coming presidential campaign is a hint of what the Democrats were thinking. Watching the growing split in the Republican party, many Democrats were already toying with the idea of throwing their support to a Liberal candidate as a way out of their own political doldrums. Almost leaderless themselves, and tired of fighting a losing battle, they were ready to snatch at any straw. "The democracy are getting beat every year on mere questions of opinion," complained Thayer. Stop harping on the "everlasting negro question," he advised, and be wise enough to "forget some things that are ancient, and sagacious enough to remember many things that are new."³

The Republican *Des Moines Register*, the voice of James S. ("Ret") Clarkson, leader of the "Des Moines Regency," was delighted with Thayer's article. Clarkson, who had been fighting the Democrats for years, now claimed that Thayer had done a better job of destroying his own party than Clarkson had ever been able to do.⁴

Standard Republican attacks on the Democrats were a combination of tolerant amusement at the antics of their opponents on one day, and dire warnings of the dangers of these same opponents on the next. Vallandigham's "New Departure" policy — an acceptance of the *fait accompli* of the Civil War and the emancipation amendments — and the "Passive Policy" of the Missourians — a policy of holding no state conventions, but of throwing support to any anti-Radical party — were occasions for sneer and satire in the Republican press. "The Democratic house, divided against itself, would fall," wrote Clarkson, "but for one thing. It can't stand up to fall."⁵ Republican E. N. Chapin, editor of the *Marshal County Times* of Marshalltown, warned that the "Passive Policy" was "simply a bid to disaffected Republicans, in the event of Gen. Grant's renomination, to organize a new

³ *Clinton Age*, Nov. 17, 1871.

⁴ *Des Moines Register*, Nov. 22, 1871.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1871. For the "passive policy" of the Missourians, see Barclay, "Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri," 20:527.

party which shall take up the now disorganized Democracy in its embrace.”⁶

Comments such as Thayer’s, and amused taunts from other Republican editors, brought an official denial from the chairman of the Democratic state committee, John P. Irish of Iowa City, editor of the *Press* of that city. To reassure the masses of the Democratic voters, he “deemed [it] proper to announce that the organized Democracy of Iowa . . . permits no thought of disorganization to disturb its councils.” A national convention will be held, Irish promised, and its conclusions will be supported. Thus, while claiming continued activity for the Democratic party, he carefully avoided taking any stand for a purely Democratic nomination. The “Passive Policy” was evidently working among the leadership of the Iowa Democrats. In the same issue of his paper, Irish himself made a bid for “that large minority” in the Republican party that had long espoused Democratic principles to “return home and fight under the old banner.”⁷

These half-hearted efforts of the Democrats to take over the growing revolt in Republican ranks were doomed to failure. Out of power in Iowa since 1856, and with the titular leaders — former Senators Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones — old and tired from long years in service, there was no real spark left in the party. Only the stubborn efforts of a few editors such as Thayer, Irish, Dennis A. Mahony of Dubuque, D. N. Richardson of Davenport, and Sam Evans of Ottumwa kept the voice of the party alive during these years. Having failed, by their own efforts, they now turned to splinter groups of the discontented — such as the Liberal Republicans in 1872 and the Anti-Monopolists in 1873 — to try to revive their fading fortunes. This was indeed the nadir of the Democracy.⁸

Not until January of 1872 did a Republican voice speak out for Liberalism in Iowa. Josiah B. Grinnell, founder of the town and college of Grinnell in Poweshiek County, had long held a place on the fringes of Iowa Republican leadership.⁹ An abolitionist and a friend of John Brown, Grinnell had

⁶ *Marshalltown Times*, Dec. 7, 1871.

⁷ *Iowa City Press*, Dec. 13, 1871.

⁸ Horace Samuel Merrill, *Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865-1896* (Baton Rouge, La., 1953), 57-76; Mildred Throne, “The Anti-Monopoly Party in Iowa, 1873-1874,” *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:289-326 (October, 1954).

⁹ For biography of Grinnell, see Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938).

been active in the formation of the Republican party in Iowa in 1856. He had been in the state legislature and had been elected to Congress for two terms, serving from 1863 to 1867. Although he would have liked another term in Congress, his district had rejected him in 1866. A few days after this defeat Grinnell, in Washington, was caned by Lovell H. Rousseau, a Congressman from Kentucky, following a bitter debate in the House. This attack, against which Grinnell did not defend himself, was used later by his political enemies as a taunt, whenever he stood for any office. Some historians, confusing the dates, attributed Grinnell's defeat in 1866 to the "Rousseau affair," which actually occurred several days after the district convention had rejected Grinnell.¹⁰ The exact reasons for Grinnell's declining political fortunes are not too clear, but by 1871 he had little or no power within the party he had helped to found. Nevertheless, his was still a name to be reckoned with, and his espousal of the Liberal cause gave the movement what little standing it achieved in Iowa.

In his youth Grinnell had been the recipient of Horace Greeley's famous advice, "Go west, young man, go west,"¹¹ and had always maintained a strong friendship with the famous editor of the New York *Tribune*, whose name was a household word throughout the Middle West, where his paper wielded great influence. In 1871 Greeley became one of the leaders of the Liberal revolt. In September, Grinnell had attended a dinner for Greeley in Chicago and had invited him to Iowa to speak. Much to the disappointment of serious-minded Iowans in the college center of Grinnell, Greeley chose to speak there on "Wit" instead of on his advertised subject, "Self Made Men." The local editor suggested that if Greeley "is aspiring to the Presidency, as some think he is, we think it would be wise in him to cease itinerating."¹² This visit of Greeley's caused little comment in the other Iowa papers, however, and it was not until January of 1872 that a letter by Grinnell forced even the Republican press to recognize the existence of a political revolt in the party.

An Iowa correspondent had written a letter to the Chicago *Tribune*, commenting on the Allison-Harlan senatorial fight in the Iowa legislature, and many assumed that Grinnell was the author. This he denied, in a letter

¹⁰ Leland L. Sage, "William B. Allison and Iowa Senatorial Politics, 1865-1870," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:116 (April, 1954).

¹¹ Payne, *Grinnell*, 26-7.

¹² Grinnell *Herald*, Sept. 27, 1871, quoted in Payne, *Grinnell*, 255.

dated January 20, 1872. But in the same letter he took occasion to oppose the renomination of Grant and to suggest as a compromise candidate either James W. Grimes or James F. Wilson of Iowa.¹³

The mention of Grimes is interesting. Had not the ex-Senator been a dying man in 1872 (he died at Burlington on February 7) would he have been able to rally the disgruntled Republicans of Iowa? Viciously denounced by his party for his vote against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, the ailing Grimes had journeyed to Europe in search of health. Watching his party from there, he had seen weaknesses which disturbed him. As early as 1869 he had written to Senator William Pitt Fessenden:

Perhaps you have observed that I have resigned my place in the Senate. The truth is, the place has become irksome to me. There are so many men there with whom I have not and never can have a particle of sympathy, so much corruption in the party with which I would be compelled to act, so much venality and meanness all around, that, aside from my ill-health, I had about made up my mind that the Senate was no longer the place for me. . . . Why, the war has corrupted everybody and everything in the United States. Just look at the senatorial elections of the last winter! They were all corrupt. . . . Thank God, my political career ended with the beginning of this corrupt political era!¹⁴

About a year later he wrote to Jacob Rich of Dubuque, a member of the Allison wing of the party in Iowa, congratulating him on his newspaper career, but differing with him on certain articles Rich had sent Grimes.

As you know, I do not share either your hope or faith. I do not pretend that the Democratic party is pure. Where it has unlimited sway, as in New York, it is unquestionably corrupt; but not a whit more corrupt than the Republican party in Philadelphia and Washington. It is the possession of uncontrolled power that makes every party corrupt, and almost every man. . . .

The country needs a terrible shaking up and shaking down, financially, politically, and morally. The war and the easy way of making money have demoralized everybody in America. . . .¹⁵

In a third letter, which Democratic newspapers took pleasure in publishing during the 1872 campaign, Grimes wrote to the prominent Democratic

¹³ Marshalltown *Times*, Feb. 8, 1872.

¹⁴ James W. Grimes to William Pitt Fessenden, Aug. 31, 1869, in William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* . . . (New York, 1876), 376-7.

¹⁵ Grimes to Jacob Rich, Jan. 9, 1870, *ibid.*, 378-80.

judge, Charles Mason, on February 27, 1871, predicting that "if the democracy make wise nominations . . . the republicans will be overthrown, and ought to be."¹⁶

But by February, Grimes was dead and his influence only a memory. The new men who had taken over the Republican party had forgotten the ideals of 1860. Grimes, had he lived and fought, might have encouraged many who hesitated to follow Josiah B. Grinnell.

That Grinnell also mentioned the name of James F. Wilson, member of Congress from the First District for four terms (1861-1869) and rapidly becoming a power in Iowa politics, might have been a bid for a reconciliation. Clarkson was carrying on a vigorous campaign in the *Des Moines Register* for the nomination of Wilson for Vice President on a Grant ticket. However, Clarkson did not take the bait, but lectured Grinnell, more in sorrow than in anger, for trying to "tear Grant down."¹⁷

Joseph Eiboeck, one of the prominent Germans of Iowa and editor of the *Elkader Journal*, had supported Wilson rather than either Harlan or Allison in the senatorial contest. He at once endorsed Grinnell's choice of Wilson. Although he intended to support the nominee of the party, said Eiboeck, he thought it would be "wiser to nominate a new man like Mr. Wilson."¹⁸ Eiboeck reflected the growing discontent of the Germans with the Republican party; he would be one of the few Republicans who, in spite of his promise, would take the usually fatal step of going over to the Liberals at the state convention at Davenport in April.

Other comments on Grinnell's letter varied from praise from the Democrats to condemnation or vituperation from the Republicans. Chapin of the *Marshalltown Times*, whose very reasonableness made his party loyalty suspect for a time, did not feel like "ridiculing or denouncing" Grinnell for his stand. "Denunciation will not save us; conciliation and concession may. . . . We must treat this matter seriously, and reason with one another kindly — no cracking of party whip will answer."¹⁹ But Chapin's was a voice crying in the wilderness; the cracking of the party whip soon brought him into line.

The *Ottumwa Courier* was sure that Grinnell's letter would "sink quietly

¹⁶ Grimes to Charles Mason, Feb. 27, 1871, *Ottumwa Democrat*, Apr. 18, 1872; *Iowa City Press*, May 1, 1872.

¹⁷ *Des Moines Register*, Jan. 31, 1872.

¹⁸ *Elkader Journal*, Jan. 31, 1872.

¹⁹ *Marshalltown Times*, Feb. 8, 1872.

into oblivion." Grinnell was a "most persistent, irrepressible hanger on and seeker for further honors," and since he had not achieved these honors, he was stirring up trouble. A northern Iowa editor considered Grinnell "a standing candidate for office, and a worn-out political stager," while a Keokuk Republican called him a "precious bit of fussiness, a windy political charlatan, without a constituency, who has been for these several years making lachrymose pilgrimages over Iowa, a caned bottom martyr. . . ." ²⁰ Thus the line of attack on Grinnell and the Liberals was set — they were disappointed office seekers or "soreheads," whose failure in Republican ranks sent them looking for a new party to further their own interests. Furthermore, in the case of Grinnell, the Rousseau caning affair was brought out, dusted off, and used as a weapon of ridicule. These slurs brought a protest from Grinnell which the *Register* printed and used as a springboard for further attacks. ²¹

Grinnell went to Washington and tried to stir up support for Wilson among the Iowa congressional delegation, according to some reporters, although Grinnell indignantly denied the story. ²² In March he was asked (by whom it is not known) to speak in Des Moines, and there he came out flatly against the renomination of Grant. In the audience were the Governor, numbers of state officials, and the "Des Moines Ringmaster," James S. Clarkson, who took pains to point out that the speaker had read from a manuscript, a sure indication, according to nineteenth century standards of oratory, of a bad speech. "The rambling tendencies of the speaker," reported Clarkson, "make it an extremely difficult matter to report a synopsis of his remarks." ²³ The speech was printed in some of the papers, and if it is a verbatim account of what was said, there is justification for Clarkson's opinion, biased though it may have been. Grinnell's failure as an orator hurt his cause considerably. Such a sentence as the following would certainly disappoint, if not confuse, listeners brought up on flowing perorations and rounded periods:

When the intolerance of those in power, and fed by the people,
is felt in the recrimination of leaders backed by the sordid spirit

²⁰ Ottumwa *Courier*, Estherville *Vindicator*, Keokuk *Gate City*, quoted in Des Moines *Register*, Feb. 7, Mar. 2, 6, 1872.

²¹ Des Moines *Register*, March 6, 1872.

²² *Idem*.

²³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 27, 1872.

which is possible to a company of 50,000 men (neither better nor worse than men in private life,) we have an argument for a single presidential term, and if the uncivil question is raised as to those who desire a change, what did they fail to get? . . .²⁴

Small wonder that Governor Carpenter said the speech "hardly came up to my expectation."²⁵

In spite of confusing verbiage, Grinnell made a strong plea for the anti-Grant element of the party, for a better attitude toward the South, for forgetting the war and letting bygones be bygones, and for accepting even Democratic support in the forthcoming Cincinnati convention of the Liberals. Ending on a note borrowed from Grant, Grinnell urged, "Let us have peace . . . and never taunt the fallen with defeat."²⁶ "Taunting the fallen," however, was too good political ammunition to be discarded by the victorious Republicans. With each election the war was refought, the Democrats accused of treason, the "bloody shirt" waved. Republicanism was equated with loyalty and prosperity; Democracy with treason and disunion. The name "Copperhead" for all Democrats was so successful that the *Des Moines Register* used it as late as 1895.²⁷ There was little chance that the voice of reform could still the taunts of the victorious.

A number of Iowa Republicans began swinging over to the Liberal cause, in spite of the party lash. They knew that their best chance for success lay in an alliance with the Democrats; therefore, any hints at cooperation in that direction were received with enthusiasm. When Henry Clay Dean, able Democratic orator of the war years, wrote to Grinnell, endorsing the latter's speech, the letter was given wide publicity among Liberals and Democrats alike. Dean wrote:

I am a democrat, but when bold, honest men — republicans in an earnest attempt to save to us for our children the free institutions of our fathers will lead the charge against the machinery of oppression, you will have great trouble in preventing equally honest and earnest democrats from joining to assist you *en masse* at the polls. . . . We are all democrats, and we are all republicans. . . .²⁸

²⁴ *Ottumwa Democrat*, Apr. 4, 1872.

²⁵ Carpenter Diary, March 22, 1872, *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City).

²⁶ *Ottumwa Democrat*, Apr. 4, 1872.

²⁷ Robert Rutland, "The Copperheads of Iowa: A Re-examination," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:28-9 (January, 1954).

²⁸ Henry Clay Dean to J. B. Grinnell, Apr. 6, 1872, in *Ottumwa Democrat*, Apr. 11, 1872.

Dean had already expressed these opinions in a previous letter to Sam Evans of the *Ottumwa Democrat*, thus placing himself firmly on the side of the Democrats who wished to cooperate with the Liberals.²⁹

Dean's letters may have influenced Democrats, but they merely gave the Republicans another chance to deride the Liberals. Henry Clay Dean was famous not only for his oratory and his opposition to the war, which had led to his arrest and imprisonment for a time, but also for a general untidiness that had earned him the title, among Republicans, of "Dirty Shirt" Dean. The *Register* shouted with glee over the letters from the "Man of Odor," and pictured Grinnell and Dean going to Cincinnati arm in arm. "A happy family, — a very fragrant one!" concluded Clarkson.³⁰

If the Liberal Republicans in Iowa were weak, the Democrats were even weaker. Almost with one voice, the leading Democratic editors counseled union with the Liberals. Probably the only well-known Democrat who refused to desert his party, even temporarily, was LeGrand Byington of Iowa City, a devoted Jeffersonian who defied the "insolent treachery" of the "rotten tricksters" of his party.³¹ But Byington and the other "straight-outs" were able to muster only a little over 2,200 votes in the state. The rest of Iowa's Democrats went submissively along with the Liberals, trying to convince themselves that they did so from choice, not necessity.

Newspaper editors were violent partisans in every election. They "hoisted" the names of their party's nominees on their editorial pages and printed long columns of praise for their men and condemnation for their opponents. Since the Liberals had hardly any editorial pens of their own, they depended almost entirely on the Democratic papers for support. Among these Democratic papers, the *Iowa City Press*, *Clinton Age*, *Sioux City Times*, *Davenport Democrat*, *Ottumwa Democrat*, and *Dubuque Herald* all supported the Liberal program from the first. Of the Republican papers, only a scattering had the fortitude to defy the Radicals and come out strongly for Greeley. Perhaps the strongest was the *Elkader Journal*, edited by Joseph Eiboeck, and he sold the paper to a Radical before the election.

In the beginning, as has been pointed out, Eiboeck announced his intention to hew to the party line, even if it included support of Grant. But, as

²⁹ Dean to Evans, Mar. 19, 1872, *Ottumwa Democrat*, March 21, 1872; *Des Moines Register*, March 27, 1872.

³⁰ *Des Moines Register*, Mar. 27, 1872.

³¹ *Estherville Vindicator*, Aug. 17, 1872.

time went on, Eiboeck wavered. When the Republican state convention to choose delegates for the national convention at Philadelphia was called for March 27 at Des Moines, Eiboeck protested. Why call the convention so early, he asked. This sudden call, with hardly a month's notice, is wrong and "smacks of trickery," he complained. Is the central committee afraid of the Liberals — afraid a "reaction might take place and anti-Grant delegates [be] chosen"? The Republican Independence *Bulletin* agreed: "it is a trick unworthy of the committee and altogether contemptible." Republican efforts, both nationally and locally, to gag the opposition pushed Eiboeck further toward the Liberals; he decided that his party was most certainly "going to the Devil." When the state convention met, instructed for Grant, and neglected to include any Germans in the delegation — but did include one Negro — Eiboeck was further alienated. He begged for moderation, complained that the use of such terms as "sorehead" or "Copperhead" for all who opposed the Republican program was a mistake. "Has it come to this," he asked, "that a Republican dare not say his soul is his own . . . has it become 'treason' to oppose an incumbent because he is deemed to use the power of federal patronage to secure his re-election?" The Cincinnati nomination of Greeley was a "decided surprise" to Eiboeck; for the moment his position was not clear. He opposed Grant, but could hardly accept Greeley. But after two months of soul-searching, and a column and a half of explanation, he at last concluded, "I shall go for Greeley." A month later, claiming ill-health, Eiboeck sold his paper to a loyal Radical Republican, and on August 14 the *Elkader Journal* flaunted the Grant ticket on its editorial page. Six years later Eiboeck, who had been proud of his Republicanism, ran for office, unsuccessfully, under the Democratic banner.³² This, then, was the metamorphosis of an idealistic German from one party into the other, because of the upheaval in his party in 1872.

All Republicans with Liberal leanings did not have Eiboeck's fortitude in sticking to their beliefs. E. N. Chapin of the Marshalltown *Times* did not follow the accepted party line when considering the Liberal revolt. He was not completely happy with Grant, and as he watched the party whip recalcitrants into line — or out of the party — he asked, echoing Eiboeck:

Has it indeed come to such a pass that a member of the Republi-

³² *Elkader Journal*, Feb. 28, Mar. 6, 27, Apr. 3, 24, May 8, July 17, Aug. 7, 1872. For sketch of Eiboeck, see Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:86.

can party dare not speak for truth and demand that justice be done without his motives being impugned and himself denounced as an ingrate and traitor, and that in view of the *indisputable* fact that corruption runs riot? . . . Has it indeed come to pass that the Republican party will refuse to investigate and expose fraud, and must be kept together with the lash of the party drill master?

Later, Chapin even defended Grinnell and endorsed the latter's suggestion of Wilson for president. But the nomination of Greeley — or any man for that matter — by the Liberals was a mistake, said Chapin. The Liberals should have waited for the Philadelphia convention and tried to work out a compromise. As it was, they had instituted a revolution, and Chapin could not go along with them. His reward came four years later; Grant appointed him postmaster of Marshalltown, a post he had held under Lincoln and from which he had been removed by Andrew Johnson. Since the appointment came in 1876, and not in 1872, there is no suggestion that Chapin had been bought. He was merely a loyal Republican who objected to the course his party was taking, but who, unlike Eiboeck, could not for that reason leave the party.³³

Several small county seat papers that went over to the Liberals, or were started to support the Liberal cause, barely outlived their party. In Jasper County the *Monroe Record* and the *Newton Sentinel* combined into the *Newton Liberal* during the campaign and succeeded in surviving until January of 1873. In LeMars a paper called the *Iowa Liberal* began publication in mid-1872 and lasted for a few years. The *Villisca Journal*, a Republican paper that came out for Greeley, found it necessary to combine with the *Glenwood Mills County Journal*; the following year it espoused the Anti-Monopoly cause and then went all the way over and became a Democratic journal.³⁴ The mortality of the Liberal papers was, thus, very high.

The Democratic editors spent half their political space on encouraging the Liberals, and the other half on justifying Democratic support for these Liberals. But the Democrats should not join in the revolt just to beat Grant, warned Thayer of the *Clinton Age*. If the Liberal movement "when further

³³ *Marshalltown Times*, Mar. 7, 14, Apr. 18, 25, May 2, 9, 1872. For sketch of Chapin, see *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 2:565 (October, 1896).

³⁴ *Monroe Record*, June 22, July 13, 20, Aug. 17, 1872; *Sioux City Times*, July 20, 1872; *Newton Jasper County Liberal*, Aug. 24, 1872; W. W. Merritt, Sr., *History of the County of Montgomery . . .* (Red Oak, Iowa, 1906), 311; *History of Mills County, Iowa . . .* (Des Moines, 1881), 532, 684-5.

developed, proves to be predicated on the idea of a radical reform in the administration of the government . . . then might the Democratic party, with perfect consistency, unite its strength with such an organization," he concluded.³⁵ Sam Evans of the *Ottumwa Democrat* was equally insistent that the Democrats must throw no block in the way of the Liberals. The Liberals could only win with Democratic support; if the Democrats nominated their own candidate, the result would be a victory for Grant and the Radicals; if the Democrats, on the other hand, joined forces with the Liberals, victory would be assured.³⁶ Richardson held the olive branch even closer to the Liberals: "If the Cincinnati Convention is a success — if it puts an acceptable ticket in the field — if the great Republican journals support that ticket — then the Democratic party will not stand in its way."³⁷ There were a good many "ifs" in the promise, but this was the position generally accepted by Democrats before the Liberal convention met at Cincinnati on May 1.

John P. Irish, as chairman of the Democratic state central committee, did not go so far as to promise support to the Liberals publicly, but he defended Grinnell from attacks by the Radicals, and he scorned the Republican charge that all Liberals were disappointed office seekers. "Nothing could be more remote from the truth," he wrote. "But [the Liberal revolt] comes of the unparalleled corruption so common in high places, the shameless nepotism of Grant, and his failure to adopt a wise and just plan of reconstruction."³⁸ Irish was ready to lead his party into the Liberal camp, but he was biding his time. Not until after the Democrats had held their national convention at Baltimore did Irish reveal that he had been working closely with the Iowa Liberals from the beginning.

Meanwhile, the Republican attitude toward the Liberals solidified into a few lines of attack. The Liberals were soreheads who could not win office under the Republican banner. Furthermore, the Liberals were being used by the Democrats as a springboard for return to office; should such a coalition win, the government would be in the hands of rebels and Copperheads. A typical attack of this sort came from the *Estherville Vindicator*:

The real questions which the nation will be called upon to decide

³⁵ *Clinton Age*, March 8, 1872.

³⁶ *Ottumwa Democrat*, Mar. 28, Apr. 11, 1872.

³⁷ *Davenport Democrat*, Apr. 4, 1872.

³⁸ *Iowa City Press*, Apr. 10, 17, 1872.

are, "Shall the enemies of the United States, who, since the war, have murdered, by assassination, in the South, thousands of the friends of government, of both American and African races, and their Northern sympathizers be installed as the rulers of loyal men?" "Is the combination of all the reactionary and revolutionary forces of the nation going to be allowed to overthrow existing institutions, to be successful in establishing violence and disorder in the place of harmony, and the progressive development of the nation?" . . .

If the loyal men of the nation can no longer be trusted with its destiny, then it must wither, and be reckoned among the lamented things that were; for the disloyal elements that hate order and governmental stability and regard it as a tyranny, will certainly make no effort to save it. . . .

Under these circumstances it would be the basest of ingratitude to overthrow our Republican administration with its certainty and place our destiny in the hands of the public enemy, of mountebanks and adventurers whose only rule of order means chaos — whose only principles of right are political knavery and traitorousness.³⁹

As the campaign wore on, this sort of attack increased, indicating that the Republicans, although in public they treated the Liberal-Democratic coalition with tolerant amusement, were worried. They need not have been, as the results would show, but during the summer of 1872, before the returns came in from the early-voting states, the bloody shirt was waved with unusual vigor, and the cry of "traitor" heard throughout the state. The calling of the Republican state convention almost two months earlier than usual may well have been, as Eiboek claimed, an indication that the Radicals feared all was not well within their own ranks. They quoted the *New York Times's* characterization of the Liberal movement as a "little faction of grumble and fuss,"⁴⁰ but they did not intend to let anything go by default. They fought a vigorous campaign with a smooth working organization, and although their victory looked good on its face, a close examination of the returns should have told them that they were in for trouble.

The Iowa Liberals called for a state convention to be held at Davenport on April 23 to elect delegates to the national convention at Cincinnati. Early in April many local conventions were held throughout the state. The

³⁹ *Estherville Vindicator*, Mar. 2, 1872.

⁴⁰ *New York Times*, quoted in *Fort Dodge Messenger*, Apr. 18, 1872.

success of these conventions, even their numbers, is difficult to determine, since the reports were colored by the political faith of the newspapers. Even when the state convention met, the number of delegates was not given. The Des Moines *Register* reported that the convention was "not exactly a complete failure, but it was a fizzle"; scarcely a hundred delegates, besides those from Scott County, attended from only nineteen counties, according to Clarkson. At the other extreme, the Ottumwa *Democrat* claimed that the convention contained "full and enthusiastic delegations from every county in the state." In Davenport the *Democrat* took a middle ground: "The attendance was not large — nor was it expected it would be."⁴¹

It is true, as reported by the *Register*, that not one member of the convention was a Republican officeholder. The names appearing on the list of 150 delegates appointed to attend the Cincinnati convention were not well known in Iowa politics, with a few outstanding exceptions. Unlike the Liberal movement in some of the Eastern states, Iowa's Liberal leaders were mostly political unknowns in the state, both in number and in influence. Grinnell dominated the convention and made out the list of 150 delegates who were to attend the Cincinnati convention and cast Iowa's 22 votes at that gathering. How many of the 150 attended the convention, or even authorized their names on the list, is not known. Besides Grinnell in the controlling group at the convention there was the temporary chairman, David C. Cloud of Muscatine, a lawyer and former Democrat who had joined the Republicans in 1856. Cloud was of the reform element attracted to the Liberals; the publication in 1873 of his book, *Monopolies and the People*, an attack on the power of the railroads in American politics, indicates his point of view toward government. Fitz Henry Warren, who had been a member of the convention which organized the Republican party in 1856, was chosen as permanent chairman at Davenport. Warren had a brilliant Civil War record, having been brevetted a major general, and had served as United States Minister to Guatemala for two years. Jacob W. Dixon of Wapello County, who had served two terms in the Iowa legislature as a Republican, and who would be elected to the House on the Anti-Monopoly ticket in 1873, was an active member at Davenport, as was Joseph Eiboek. Surprisingly, several prominent railroad attorneys, whom one would expect to find in the ranks of the Radicals, were at Davenport.

⁴¹ Des Moines *Register*, May 1, 1872; Ottumwa *Democrat*, Apr. 25, 1872; Davenport *Democrat*, Apr. 25, 1872.

Judge David Rorer of Burlington, prominent attorney for the Burlington Railroad, was there, together with Joseph H. Swan of Sioux City, another railroad attorney, and Joseph A. Rhomberg of Dubuque, president of the Iowa road which would eventually become a part of the Milwaukee system.⁴² What led these men away from the branch of the party that had done so much for the railroad interests of the country is a matter for speculation in the absence of further documentation.

A state central committee of fifteen was appointed, headed by J. D. Campbell, an attorney from Davenport.⁴³ Whether all these men attended the Cincinnati convention, or how many actually attended from Iowa, is not definite, but the taunt of the *Register* that "On the Iowa delegation at Cincinnati there is not a single Republican who was a soldier" is an example of carelessness with the truth which was part and parcel of the political tactics of the period.⁴⁴ At least half of the members of the Liberal state committee had good Civil War records, and there was the usual scattering of military titles among those who attended the Davenport and Cincinnati meetings. Clarkson's statement was another instance of the Radical gospel that the war had been fought and won by Republicans, and if you did not "vote as you shot," you evidently had not shot.

When the Liberal National Convention assembled on May 1, a strange mixture of reformers and politicians gathered in the Music Hall at Cincinnati. Carl Schurz, the Missouri father of Liberalism, presided, but saw the convention taken over by the politicians, and Horace Greeley chosen as the presidential nominee.⁴⁵ This was a bitter pill for the reform element to swallow, and even bitterer for the Democrats who had already practically committed their party to support of the Liberal candidate. Iowa's delegates, in spite of the supposed domination of Grinnell, who was a Greeley man, could muster only 7 of their 22 votes for Greeley on the first ballot, and only 5 on the sixth, when Greeley was nominated. After scattering their support among the various "reform" candidates, Iowa's delegates, after the third ballot, swung the majority of their strength to Charles Francis

⁴² For names of members of the convention, see *Des Moines Register*, May 1, 1872. For sketches of the various men mentioned, see Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:55, 75, 278-9; *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 7:238 (October, 1905), 4:321 (January, 1900), 3:159 (July, 1897).

⁴³ *Des Moines Register*, May 1, 1872.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1872.

⁴⁵ Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, 86-105.

Adams, giving him 17 votes to the 5 for Greeley on the last ballot.⁴⁶ The "chief explanation of Greeley's success," writes the historian of the Liberal Republican movement, "is to be found in the efficient support of the politicians. . . . [It was] the triumph of experienced political intriguers over inexperienced over-confident reformers."⁴⁷ Not only had the convention chosen the weakest candidate, but they had chosen the one man the Democrats would find hardest to support. And the Liberals had no chance at victory without the support of the Democrats.

Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, hitherto the voice of Republicanism in the Middle West, was too much of what moderns would call a "character" for serious consideration for the presidency. Many of the votes he received in November were votes *against* Grant, not *for* Greeley. Furthermore, his vitriolic attacks upon the Democrats during and since the war would make it almost impossible for Democrats to support him happily. The editorial voices of the party achieved miracles of rationalization in explaining their support for Greeley, while Republican editors delighted in filling their columns with quotations from Greeley's past attacks on the Democracy, thus rubbing salt in the wounds of a party helpless to fight its way out of a coalition it had found distasteful.

Even if Greeley had not been one of the most violent of wavers of the bloody shirt, his stand on the tariff would have alienated Democrats. Greeley was an arch-protectionist, and the Liberal reformers had stood, before Cincinnati, for tariff reform if not for free trade. The tariff plank of the Liberal platform, upon which both Greeley and the Democrats would have to stand, was masterly in avoiding the issue:

Recognizing that there is in our midst an honest but irreconcilable difference of opinion in regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of this subject to the people in their congressional districts, and the decision of Congress thereon wholly free of executive interference or dictation.⁴⁸

Then there was the question of temperance. A large support for the Liberals had come from the Germans, who were naturally strongly opposed to "that fanaticism" of which Greeley was the author, as Rutherford B. Hayes

⁴⁶ Des Moines *Register*, May 8, 1872.

⁴⁷ Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, 102.

⁴⁸ Article 6, in Liberal Republican platform, Davenport *Democrat*, May 9, 1872.

put it.⁴⁹ "When the Convention opened," Schurz wrote Greeley, "we had nearly the whole German vote with us. . . . When we came out of that convention, that force was almost entirely lost to us." Schurz, the German reformer, was bitter and took no pains to conceal his disappointment from the successful candidate. The "freshness and flavor" of the Liberal movement "are gone and we have come down to the ordinary level of a campaign of politicians," he wrote Greeley.⁵⁰

But Schurz had to accept Greeley's nomination, in spite of his disappointment, and so did the rest of the Liberals and the Democrats. They had gone too far to back out. So they settled down to the campaign with grim determination if with little enthusiasm. Even before the Cincinnati convention, some of the Iowa Democrats were uneasy. Sam Evans hoped the Liberals would not choose a man "peculiarly obnoxious to democrats," and Thayer pointed out that if the candidate of the Liberals was to have "a show of success" he must be "*so near a Democrat that the difference would hardly be perceptible to the naked eye.*"⁵¹

The Republicans were delighted with the nomination, of course, for they were wise enough politically to see that the Liberals had chosen the man the Republicans could most easily defeat. The *Register* commiserated with the Democrats. The Liberals, wrote Clarkson, have "chosen the man, who, of all other men, the old-line Democrats would most hate to vote for." And they will not vote for him, continued Clarkson, but "will lead the party into making nominations of its own and a fight of its own."⁵² This solicitude for the Democrats did not escape notice; a correspondent signing himself "Clio" was amused at the sudden Radical interest in the health of a party they had been declaring dead for many years.⁵³

Sam Evans hemmed and hawed and quoted Shakespeare and finally argued himself into support of Greeley. The nomination was "not expected," he wrote. Greeley's antislavery sentiments and his protectionism were distasteful to Democrats, but they must support him as opposed to Grant. "A democratic nomination would not only drive the Liberal Republican ticket

⁴⁹ Hayes's letter quoted in Merrill, *Bourbon Democracy*, 72.

⁵⁰ Carl Schurz to Horace Greeley, May 6, 1872, in Frederic Bancroft (ed.), *Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (6 vols., New York, 1913), 2:364.

⁵¹ Ottumwa Democrat, May 2, 1872; Clinton Age, quoted in Des Moines Register, May 8, 1872.

⁵² Des Moines Register, May 8, 1872.

⁵³ Ottumwa Democrat, May 23, 1872.

from the field, but demoralize the democratic party itself, and lead thousands of honest and true democrats who have already made up their minds to support Greeley to curse such a thick-headed policy as would lead to healing the disruption of the radical party.”⁵⁴

Thayer of the *Clinton Age* was not so easily won over as Evans, but he, too, had to succumb to the inevitable. Greeley, he admitted, had slandered Democrats for years.

Yet these things were in the past, and now if all Democrats are Christians as undoubtedly they are, and can find a corner in their hearts for the words, “Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you” — then may the Philosopher of the *Tribune* become the subject of the prayers of three millions of Democrats, and it may be the recipient of their votes.

But Thayer was not even convinced himself by this fine display of forgiveness. He had his doubts; there were many Democrats who “could not be persuaded [sic] to touch [Greeley] with a pole as long as the Atlantic Cable.” But, if the Democratic convention decides to endorse Greeley, the masses of the party may “become educated up to such a high moral point as to shut their eyes and go for Greeley — and may the Lord have mercy on their souls.” He himself could vote for Greeley if he had to, but he would wait for the action of the Democratic convention.⁵⁵

Forget the personalities and vote for the principles, urged Richardson of the *Davenport Democrat*. If a vote for Greeley, argued Charles Negus of Fairfield, would help destroy the Republican party, then it was justified.⁵⁶ John P. Irish, always ready to jump into any political fray, was strangely silent, although he took occasion to deny the *Register's* claim that Grinnell was going to dictate the actions of the Democratic state convention. That convention would meet, wrote Irish, and decide the policy for the party, “and by the result of that organized action the committee and every member of the party will be bound.”⁵⁷

But before the state convention met on June 11, certain other Democratic voices were heard. Several county conventions, which met to appoint dele-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1872.

⁵⁵ *Clinton Age*, May 10, 1872.

⁵⁶ *Davenport Democrat*, May 9, 1872; *Ottumwa Democrat*, May 30, 1872.

⁵⁷ *Iowa City Press*, May 15, 1872.

gates to the state meeting, declared in favor of a coalition with the Liberals. And on June 3 the mentor of the Democrats — ex-Senator Augustus Caesar Dodge — in a letter to George Gillaspv of Ottumwa, came out for a Greeley nomination at the national convention to be held at Baltimore. In spite of the fact that the choice of Greeley was “unexpected and unwelcome,” wrote Dodge, he was determined to “sustain the movement.” That Irish published this letter in full in his paper indicated his approval.⁵⁸

After the Republican convention at Philadelphia had renominated Grant, there was no other course for Democrats, either in Iowa or the nation, but to endorse Greeley. The nomination of a third candidate would merely split the opposition and Grant’s election would be insured — either by a majority of the vote or, if the selection were thrown into Congress, by a vote there in favor of Grant. The Democrats knew this, and so did the Republicans.

The Liberals, anxious for Democratic support, were impatient. “Be easy with us,” urged Thayer. “To step from the probable support of a Democrat into the arms of Greeley . . . partakes of the gigantic. . . . One thing is certain, Democrats will not be driven into the Revenue Reform movement by the lash of Republican newspapers. As they go into it, they will go from the sense of duty and not for the pleasure of it. They will do evil that good may come.”⁵⁹ Such an attitude, although promising support, could not have been very encouraging for the Liberals, who wanted enthusiastic, not grudging, aid.

Thus the Democrats moved slowly into the Liberal camp, with many a longing look backward. But they put the best face on it that they could at their state convention and unanimously endorsed a resolution favoring the nomination of Greeley at Baltimore. Thayer “never knew Democrats more enthusiastic over the nomination of a Democrat than over the nomination of Greeley.” Evans, who had been carrying the Greeley ticket in his newspaper ever since the Cincinnati convention, was pleased. According to the *Register*, Irish announced at the Democratic convention that his committee and that of the Liberals had been cooperating ever since the state convention of Liberals at Davenport.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1872. For county conventions, see *Elkader Journal*, June 5, 1872; *Fort Dodge Messenger*, June 6, 1872; *Sioux City Times*, June 8, 1872.

⁵⁹ *Clinton Age*, June 7, 1872.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1872; *Ottumwa Democrat*, June 20, 1872; *Davenport Democrat*, June 20, 1872; *Des Moines Register*, June 19, 1872.

Since the Iowa Democrats had now officially joined with the Liberals, the Republicans, who would have preferred a third ticket, made the best of it and took comfort in announcing the death of the Democratic party. An Osceola editor was not so sure, however. "The old democratic party dies not so accommodatingly," he warned. "The republicans will find that the whole thing is arranged by the chief fuglemen." The Democrats will probably take over the whole Liberal movement. They are "not dead but crafty," he concluded.⁶¹

After the Baltimore convention had duly endorsed the Greeley ticket, Thayer published a column of reassurance to Democrats which confirmed the suspicions of the Osceola editor:

We do not think the mission of the Democratic party is ended. The Baltimore Convention has merely ordered that the good old name shall be carefully wrapped in clean linnen [sic], properly labelled "DEMOCRACY," and laid on the highest shelf, with directions to be opened four years hence. The masses who know that the history of the progress of the nation and the history of the Democratic party are one and the same, will not permit the package to gather dust longer than until 1876.⁶²

Once the Baltimore convention had acted, Irish began his campaign for Greeley. As chairman of the Democratic party in the state, he now stepped forward to lead the parade that had been forming for some time.⁶³ He sent out a call for a state convention to meet at Des Moines on August 1 to nominate candidates for the various state offices. Almost simultaneously, Campbell published a call for the Liberal state convention to be held on the same day at Des Moines.⁶⁴ That the two parties should meet at the same place on the same day was hardly an accident. A dramatic union was to be staged.

The "Marriage Ceremony," as Grinnell called it, took place in front of the courthouse at Des Moines. The two conventions had met separately for temporary organization and the appointment of committees. While the delegates listened to speeches whipping up their enthusiasm, a joint committee of the two parties met and chose a slate of candidates. Then the

⁶¹ *Osceola Republican*, June 20, 1872.

⁶² *Clinton Age*, July 12, 1872.

⁶³ *Iowa City Press*, July 17, 1872.

⁶⁴ *Davenport Democrat*, July 11, 18, 1872.

Democrats left their meeting place at Moore's Hall to join the Liberals, who were at the courthouse. An emotional delegate described the scene:

On the approach of the Democratic delegation, the Liberals formed an avenue of themselves through which they should pass, and received them with long welcoming cheers. . . . General A. C. Dodge, of Des Moines County, the Chairman of the Democratic Convention, and Dr. Gilbert [sic. Dr. E. A. Guilbert of Dubuque], of the Liberal Convention, clasped hands, and each made a beautiful and fitting speech. That of the old General was the most noticable [sic], as the good old man was so filled with emotion that his lips quivered and tears might be seen rolling down his cheeks — tears of joy at the glorious union which he in his old age was so delighted to witness. . . .⁶⁵

A joint central committee was appointed, with John H. Keatley, Liberal Republican of Council Bluffs, and John P. Irish, Democrat of Iowa City, as co-chairmen.⁶⁶ Grinnell, who had sparked the movement in Iowa, was active in the convention but was not put up for any of the state offices nor placed on the central committee. Neither was he named by his district for a congressional seat, a neglect which hurt him but which did not dim his enthusiasm for the Liberal cause.⁶⁷

As the delegates left Des Moines for their homes, an incident occurred which Joseph Eiboeck found both amusing and symbolic. Dennis Mahony, the Dubuque Democratic editor who had been jailed for his opinions during the Civil War, accompanied Eiboeck and several other Republicans and spent the night at the home of J. B. Grinnell. To see Mahony, the most famous "Copperhead" of the state, accepting the hospitality of Grinnell, the abolitionist and friend of John Brown, was "the most striking illustration of the times," wrote Eiboeck. And when the host offered Mahony the bed that John Brown had formerly slept in, Mahony accepted with only "the least bit of extra twitching of his facial muscles."⁶⁸

Although the Liberal-Democratic coalition was but poorly organized, groups in each district managed to get together conventions and put up candidates for Congress. Iowa had just been redistricted by the General Assembly, thereby increasing her representation in Congress from six to

⁶⁵ "Delta" in *Estherville Vindicator*, Aug. 10, 1872.

⁶⁶ *Iowa City Press*, Aug. 7, 1872.

⁶⁷ Payne, *Grinnell*, 267-8.

⁶⁸ *Elkader Journal*, Aug. 7, 1872.

nine. Although the slate of state officers was divided between the Liberals and Democrats — two of the five places going to Democrats⁶⁹ — in the congressional districts the Democrats took over and nominated their own men, with the exception of the Seventh District, where the Liberals nominated a Republican by the name of Oliver L. Palmer to run against the popular Republican nominee, John A. Kasson. Irish was nominated in the Fifth District, while the best-known and most influential Democrat in the Ninth District, John F. Duncombe of Fort Dodge, was chosen on what he liked to call an "Independent" ticket.⁷⁰

In September the campaign swung into full vigor, with both sides stumping the state. Not only did the candidates make almost daily political speeches, but the leading members of each party were scheduled for exhausting tours. The experiences of Governor Carpenter are typical. He started his tour on September 9, going to Marengo by train, where he spoke in the evening. Leaving Marengo at 8 the next morning, by freight train, he traveled to Iowa City, where he made another speech in the evening. At 4 the next morning he took a train for Wilton, traveled from there by carriage to Tipton and made another speech. Again rising at 4, he took a carriage to Cedar Rapids, where he "saw lots of people," and left at 5 in the afternoon for West Liberty to speak. The following day he returned to Des Moines for a few hours, then set out for Osceola, "by the slow and tedious and aggravating means of freight train transportation." The next day he took a buggy to Lineville, where he boarded a train for Muscatine, traveling all night and arriving at 6 in the morning. There he met W. B. Allison, and the two journeyed to Crawfordsville where they spoke in the afternoon, then on to Washington for an evening meeting. In the morning a friend took the governor by carriage to North English where he spoke at a pole raising. "The wind was blowing a gale and I spoke in the woods to a good crowd making an acceptable speech. Rode in the cold 15 miles to Sigourney after dark got chilled through. . . ." Next, "across country" to Ottumwa, where Allison spoke in the afternoon and Carpenter in the evening. The governor left Ottumwa at 6 the next morning and traveled to Bloomfield, where he spoke again. By now his voice had given out, and he returned to Des Moines for several days to recuperate. This was September 21 — he

⁶⁹ Davenport *Democrat*, Aug. 8, 1872.

⁷⁰ For list of candidates, see *Iowa City Press*, Sept. 11, 1872. For Duncombe, see *Sioux City Times*, Aug. 31, 1872.

had been speaking daily (except Sundays) for 13 days, and getting from place to place by train, freight, carriage, or buggy. On September 25 he set out again, speaking at Albia with Allison, then on to Pella, back to Des Moines, to Fort Dodge, to Webster City, and then back to Fort Dodge, where the doctors put him to bed for a week. On October 9 he started out again, speaking daily until the 17th, when he had another slight respite at Des Moines. For the rest of the time until the election on November 5, the Governor was constantly on the road, traveling and speaking, from one end of the state to the other. Small wonder that he wrote, on election day, "I am glad the contest is over."⁷¹

The Governor was not the only speaker in the campaign. Every state official, the congressional delegation, the two Senators, and the candidates for office had similar speaking tours. They paid all their own expenses on these trips, but since all politicians traveled on passes on the railroads at the time, and were put up at private homes wherever possible, and doubtless hauled from towns with no railroad connections by party members who had buggy or carriage to offer, the financial outlay was not very heavy. When, after the election, the party chairman, Jacob Rich, asked for a statement of the Governor's expenses so that he could reimburse him from the party treasury (an entirely revolutionary idea at that time), Carpenter replied: "I do not think I have done more than I ought to have done, and have no bill against your committee. . . ."⁷²

It is difficult to assess the influence of this type of speaking tour. It was, of course, the only way the candidates had of reaching the voters, with the exception of the highly partisan reports in the newspapers. These reports are not reliable, since the editors reported only good things of their party speakers, only bad things of the opposition. Probably most of the voters' minds were already made up. There were few political "Independents" at this time; most voters cast a straight ticket without question. But the speaking tours stirred up enthusiasm, kept the wavering in line, and "brought out the vote" which might have stayed at home unless properly motivated. That the Republicans were worrying about the "stay-at-homes" vote is indicated in a letter Governor Carpenter wrote to a friend in Ohio, a letter that was to be read at the meeting of a Grant club there. "The fact is . . . our

⁷¹ Carpenter Diary, Sept. 9 to Nov. 5, 1872, *passim*, Carpenter Papers.

⁷² Jacob Rich to Carpenter, Nov. 9, 1872; Carpenter to Rich, Nov. 16, 1872, Letter-book B, 1872, p. 297, *ibid*.

people have felt so sure that the Republican ticket would triumph, that many of them have not taken sufficient interest in the election to attend; but this year the coalition against the Republican Party will arouse a public feeling which will bring out the votes."⁷³ As the results will show, the Republicans had reason to be worried about the voters who stayed at home.

The Republican campaigners wasted little time on Greeley and the Liberal program. Their ancient enemy, the Democracy, was too good a whipping boy at election time. Furthermore, it was difficult to explain away some of the Liberal charges against Grant and his administration. Thus, the accepted technique was to dismiss the Liberals as soreheads and to attack their Democratic allies as Copperheads. According to a listener at Albia, Carpenter and Allison, in their speeches there, "expounded . . . the great truths of Republicanism as contradistinguished from modern Greeleyism and Rebelism."⁷⁴ With some confusion as to their meaning, a Webster City editor used high sounding words to describe Carpenter's speech there: "The plausible [sic] theories and studied sophism of the opposition to Gen. Grant and the Republican party were thoroughly exposed and annihilated by the convincing logic and able arguments of Gov. C."⁷⁵

In Centerville the editor summed up in one paragraph the main arguments for a Republican victory:

"Righteousness alone can exalt a nation." . . . No political party can hope for success unless based on this fundamental truth. . . . Such is the Republican party. It liberated the slave and elevated him to the rights of citizenship. It gave the poor man a homestead of 160 acres, at a nominal cost of \$10; and it guarded the rights of the rich by making secure the payment of the national debt, according to contract. The Republican party is founded on principles of justice, and is therefore bound to succeed. Young man, if you desire a political future for yourself, or if you have any desire to promote the right and put down the wrong, then give your support to the Republican party."⁷⁶

A particularly blatant example of bloody-shirtism appeared in the Estherville paper at this state of the campaign:

⁷³ Carpenter to W. S. Bradford, Sept. 3, 1872, Letterbook B, 1872, pp. 187-94, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Des Moines *Register*, Oct. 4, 1872.

⁷⁵ Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, Oct. 9, 1872.

⁷⁶ Centerville *Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 31, 1872.

Since the close of the rebellion not less than *twenty-three thousand persons*, black or white, have been scourged, banished, or murdered by the Kuklux Klans of the South. The victims of their horrible barbarity have been Republicans. Not a Democrat has suffered. Loyalty to the United States Government brought persecution; disloyalty exemption. . . .⁷⁷

Faced with this type of argument, Thayer complained that "had not those republicans who are now helping the democracy fight this great political battle, succeeded so well in years past in teaching the people to hate democracy the victory would be better assured."⁷⁸

The weakness of the Liberal-Democratic coalition in Iowa is obvious, from a reading of the newspapers and from a survey of the type of canvass conducted. The Republicans ranged up and down the state, speaking at cities, at fairs, and at schoolhouses, and their itineraries were well advertised in advance. On the other hand, few Liberal or Democratic speaking tours were publicized. Even the Davenport *Democrat*, one of the strongest of the anti-Grant papers, carried no listing of speaking engagements. Richardson, the editor, recognized this weakness, but beyond a complaint did nothing about it. That this was not merely an Iowa failure is evidenced by Richardson's quotation of a statement by Theodore Tilton in the *Golden Age* that "there is too much of a disposition among the Liberals everywhere to trust the fate of the campaign to the enthusiasm of the people." "It is even so," wrote Richardson. "We must arouse ourselves. We must work, or we shall not have the proud honor of ranking among the States who will elect Greeley in November. What is our committee doing?"⁷⁹

Evidently, the committee did very little. Nor did the editors who could have carried on the fight. The slate of state officials put up by the coalition was hardly mentioned in the papers. Some local areas had rousing campaigns for the congressional seats; in others, practically nothing appeared. While every Republican officeholder from the Senators and the Governor down to the lowest of the county officials campaigned night and day, few Liberal meetings were held and these but poorly reported. Democratic and Liberal editorials were anti-Grant rather than pro-Greeley. The Republicans were conducting a positive campaign; the coalition, with divided lead-

⁷⁷ Estherville *Vindicator*, July 27, 1872.

⁷⁸ Clinton *Age*, Sept. 27, 1872.

⁷⁹ Davenport *Democrat*, Sept. 19, 1872.

ership, fought a negative battle. The positive issue of reform was soon lost in a welter of political attacks on Grant and the Republicans. The Liberal defeat in Iowa can be said to be partly due to the fact that the party had no real program. A year later, when the coalition became the Anti-Monopoly party with a positive program of control of railroads, the Republicans came nearer to defeat than they had in any election since the war.

The "straight-out" Democrats were a feeble voice in Iowa. After a national group had met at Louisville and nominated Charles O'Connor (an honor which O'Connor declined and for which he refused to campaign), a few old-line Democrats — "The orphans who lost their mother at Cincinnati and their father at Baltimore," according to the *Register* — met at Des Moines and put up a state ticket. This movement was said to be financed by the Republicans in order to split the Democratic vote.⁸⁰ Whatever its origin, the 2,200 votes it garnered in the election made no difference in the outcome.

The states that voted in September and October forecast the results. In November the Liberal-Democratic coalition was roundly defeated, Greeley carrying only six states, all in the South. Iowa's vote in round numbers was 131,000 for Grant, 71,000 for Greeley, and 2,200 for O'Connor. This gave the Republicans a majority of 56,000, an increase of 10,000 over the majority given Grant in 1868.⁸¹ On the face of it, this was a great victory. All the state offices won by about the same majority, and the entire congressional delegation of Republicans was elected by comfortable margins. The only district where the contest was even close was the Second, where Aylett R. Cotton won over W. E. Leffingwell by only 175 votes. Here, the large German population may have played a part in Leffingwell's high vote. The district included Muscatine, Jones, Cedar, Clinton, Scott, and Jackson counties; Scott and Jackson returned majorities in favor of Leffingwell, but their votes were offset by the votes for Cotton in the other four counties.

In the state, only two counties (traditionally-Democratic Dubuque and Scott) gave Greeley sound majorities, while Fremont, in the southwestern corner of the state, with a total of 2,653 votes cast, favored Greeley by a slim 31. All other Iowa counties gave Grant a majority.

The election would seem to have insured Republican dominance in Iowa.

⁸⁰ Des Moines *Register*, Sept. 27, 1872; Newton *Liberal*, Aug. 31, 1872.

⁸¹ 1868 election returns, Des Moines *Register*, Dec. 16, 1868; 1872 returns, *ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1872.

But a long second look at the returns reveals a decline not only in the Democratic vote (the accepted explanation of Liberal-Democratic defeat in 1872), but also a definite decline in Republican votes. The voting population of Iowa had increased from 216,000 in 1869 to 261,000 in 1873, but the total vote cast in 1872 (204,000) as compared with the total cast in 1868 (194,000) did not reflect this increase in the number of voters. Whereas in 1868 the amazing total of 90 per cent of the qualified voters went to the polls, in 1872 only 78 per cent bothered to vote. The voting population between presidential elections had increased 45,000, but the votes cast increased by only 10,000. This was unusual, in a state where the population was steadily increasing, and at a time when voting was proportionately much heavier than it is today. It thus indicates that not only did some Democrats stay home on election day, but many Republicans likewise failed to vote.

In the 96 counties then voting, there was a decline in total vote from 1868 in 47 counties. Thirty of these counties show a loss in Republican votes; 41, in Democratic votes. Geographically, the counties with a declining vote, for either or both parties, are located in the southeastern half of the state — the area longest settled and with the largest population. The only exception to this geographical generalization is Harrison County on the Missouri River, where there was a very slight decline in a small Democratic vote.⁸²

The possible significance of this decline in voter interest may throw a slightly different light on the outcome in Iowa. Although the Republicans cheered, understandably, over their large majority, they judiciously ignored the fact that in almost one-third of the counties fewer Republicans voted in 1872 than in 1868. There could be several explanations for this. The Republican voters could have felt so sure of the outcome that they did not bother to go to the polls; or they could have stayed at home because they did not like Grant but could not bring themselves to vote for Greeley; or possibly they just were not interested, one way or the other. Corruption in high places is often shrugged off by the voter, unless it touches his own pocketbook. The cry of reform — especially civil service reform, which meant little to most Iowans — had no appeal to the voters in times of pros-

⁸² Voting population figures from *1836-1880 Census of Iowa . . .* (Des Moines, 1883), 228-35; German population from *Ninth United States Census* (1870), Vol. I, 353-4.

perity. When, the following year, an economic depression began to make itself felt, sparked by the failure of the mighty house of Jay Cooke and the ensuing panic, the grumbling against the great monopolies (especially the railroads) broke into a roar, and Iowans, who now felt the need of a reform, trooped to the polls and almost overturned the Republican party in the state.⁸³ Possibly, then, the decline in Republican voting in 1872 may be attributed to a declining faith in the Republican party. Also, in 1872 there was really no issue to arouse the voters, the Liberals had produced a weak candidate, and the Republicans offered nothing new.

Did the voters sense the changes which had come to the Republican party in 1872; did they miss the idealism of 1860? Sam Evans thought so. In trying to explain the election, he wrote:

There is a difference however between the Radical party of to day and the Black Republican party of 1860. One was infused with the fierce, misguided enthusiasm of zealots. The other is held together and made strong through the same motives which actuate a band of robbers. The one fought for a sentiment; the latter day Republicans fight for bread and butter. . . .⁸⁴

Subtracting the Democratic bias from the above statement, it may hold a kernel of truth. The number of "original abolitionists" in the Liberal party, from Grinnell in Iowa to Sumner in Massachusetts, would indicate a certain disillusionment, by the men who founded the party of Lincoln, with the men who now made up the party of Grant.

John P. Irish viewed the election and, after a bit of involved reasoning, came up with the solution that Grant had won by a minority. According to Irish, one million Democrats nationally had "snubbed the polls"; if they had voted, Grant's majority of some 760,000 would have been erased. Then Irish looked to the future and, in ringing tones, invited the Liberals to become Democrats. "Let us organize the Liberal Democracy," he urged, "and make the successful minority feel the weight of a once more united majority."⁸⁵ The editor of the *Newton Liberal* echoed Irish and candidly admitted that Grant could have been defeated by the coalition "had they been satisfied with and united upon their candidate."⁸⁶

⁸³ Throne, "Anti-Monopoly Party in Iowa, 1873-1874," *passim*.

⁸⁴ Ottumwa *Democrat*, Nov. 7, 1872.

⁸⁵ Iowa *City Press*, Nov. 13, 1872.

⁸⁶ Newton *Liberal*, Nov. 23, 1872.

"We have met the enemy and we are theirs," wrote Richardson of the *Davenport Democrat*. But the fight is only beginning — "it is only the commencement of a long campaign" — he added, and concluded by quoting Cromwell: we must "Fear God and keep our powder dry."⁸⁷

Evans could not resist an "I told you so" attitude, conveniently forgetting that he had been one of the first to advise a coalition. He had always opposed straying from original Democratic principles, he now claimed, but "had conquered the prejudices of a lifetime" and supported Greeley. "That the movement was not a success, is no fault of ours," he wrote.⁸⁸

In all these explanations, justifications, and recriminations, no Democratic voice in Iowa spoke out strongly for the future of the party, and Liberal voices were stilled almost at once. Those Republicans who had embraced the movement soon crept back into their own ranks or, if they could find no haven there, went all the way over to the Democracy. William P. Hepburn, a Republican and a railroad attorney, had joined with the Liberals in 1872, but four years later he was safely back in the Republican fold and went on to a distinguished career in Congress.⁸⁹ Grinnell joined the Anti-Monopolists in 1873, but rejected the Greenbackers; in 1880, with the nomination of Garfield, whom he admired, he returned to his old party. Eiboek never went back to the Republican party; in fact, in 1878 he ran for state office as a Democrat.⁹⁰

The diary of Charles Mason of Burlington, former Democratic chief justice of Iowa's supreme court, reveals something of the weakness of Iowa's Democracy. Mason had early advised coalition with the Liberals, had accepted the nomination of Greeley, had attended the state convention of the party in June, and had drawn up the resolutions endorsing the Liberal candidate. He had also been elected as one of the four Democratic delegates-at-large from Iowa to Baltimore. Sanguine of success at first, by mid-May he began to lose heart. "I do not much like the association because our newspapers have to publish laudations of acts which I detest," he wrote on May 24. During the campaign he made speeches, wrote articles for the *Burlington Gazette*, and grew steadily more discouraged. "Little short of a miracle can alone save us," he wrote on the eve of the election. He blamed

⁸⁷ *Davenport Democrat*, Nov. 14, 1872.

⁸⁸ *Ottumwa Democrat*, Nov. 14, 1872.

⁸⁹ John Ely Briggs, *William Peters Hepburn* (Iowa City, 1919), 96-7.

⁹⁰ Payne, *Grinnell*, 281-4; Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:86.

the Democratic-Liberal defeat on the Negro vote, on the "Bourbon" vote of the straight-outs which, although "trifling," had had a "depressing influence." "We are not fit for self-government," he mourned, "and the sooner we change the better." When Carl Schurz spoke at Burlington on November 21 Mason talked with him and agreed that "the Democratic party should disband itself or withdraw from the arena."⁹¹ Disheartened at repeated defeats, the Democratic party had indeed reached a low-water mark in 1872.

The Democratic editors of Iowa, not quite so disheartened as Mason, followed their party from Liberalism to Anti-Monopolism, then tried out a hybrid "Democratic, Liberal Republican, Anti-Monopoly" party in 1875. In 1876, rejecting the Greenbacker agitation, the Democrats of Iowa returned to their own name and platform, never to desert it again, although victory did not come until 1889, with the election of a Democrat as governor of Iowa for the first time since the election of Stephen Hempstead in 1850.⁹²

The significance of the election of 1872 in Iowa is that it reflected the national political picture. The Republican party, in power since 1860, had through patronage established itself firmly in office, from the local postmasters up through the appointive judgeships. A loyal organization had thus been built up that would work for the party at every election. In Iowa this organization was dominated by Grenville M. Dodge, William B. Allison, Samuel J. Kirkwood, James S. Clarkson, and a host of political lieutenants. Clarkson, in addition to editing the powerful *Des Moines Register*, held the even more important job of Des Moines postmaster. The corruption of the Grant regime had not yet touched the Iowa Republicans to any great extent; therefore, that argument of the Liberals meant little in the state. To the average Iowan, busy with an expanding agriculture, growing cities, an increasing population, and rapidly extending lines of railroad, the economic picture looked good. Almost automatically, he voted yearly for the party that seemed to embody this prosperity. The Liberal-Democratic coalition was able to garner only some 71,000 votes in the 1872 election; this, plus the 2,200 "straight-out" Democratic votes, totalled 1,000 less than the Dem-

⁹¹ Charles Mason Remey (ed.), *Life and Letters of Charles Mason, Chief Justice of Iowa, 1804-1882* (16 typescript volumes, Washington, 1939), 10:1269-80 *passim*.

⁹² See Jean B. Kern, "The Political Career of Horace Boies," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:215-46 (July, 1949).

ocrats alone had won in the 1868 election, thus indicating that the coalition had little appeal in Iowa.

The Democrats of the state were in much the same position as the party nationally. They had no leadership, they held no offices, and their only voice was a handful of editors who could spread Democratic gospel but who had no organization. The docile acceptance of Greeley as a candidate did nothing to enhance the reputation of the party. The "old vilifier" of the Democrats was the poorest candidate the Liberals could have chosen to oppose the popular Grant. The Democrats, turning from New Departure to Passive Policy to Liberal Republicanism in a vain search for a winning combination, did not present to the voter a program of steady principles. The voter knew what to expect from the Republicans; he was never sure of the Democrats. The closest the Democrats came to winning in Iowa in these years came in 1873, when they espoused a popular economic program of opposition to the growing power of the railroads. Even then, however, the Republicans stole most of their thunder by being just as "anti-monopoly" as was the party masquerading under that name. In the gubernatorial election of 1873 the Democrats won 44 per cent of the vote, a high percentage for them, but not high enough even in a year of panic and depression to enable them to win. They did manage to win an even half of the seats in the Iowa House of Representatives, an indication that they were on the right track, but by 1874 they had returned to their old principles and their old minority position in Iowa politics.

In the 1872 election the Liberal-Democratic coalition had won only 35 per cent of the votes cast, considerably below the national average of 44 per cent. In 1876, when the Democrats polled more votes than the Republicans nationally, even though they lost the presidency, Iowa Democrats polled only 41 per cent of the votes cast. Nationally, the Democratic party was weak; in Iowa, it was almost impotent. The handful of Liberals in Iowa had gambled on a feeble reed to support them to victory, and had lost.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS SPEAKS AT IOWA CITY, 1860

By *Charles A. Thodt**

There were four political parties competing in the 1860 presidential election. The Republicans supported Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin; the Democrats, Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson; the National Democrats, John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane; and the Constitutional Union party, John Bell and Edward Everett.¹

Iowa had been firmly within the ranks of the Democratic party when admitted to the Union in 1846, but by 1854 James W. Grimes, Whig, had been elected governor. His party had also carried a majority in the Iowa General Assembly.² Two years later, on February 22, 1856, the Republican party organization had been established at Iowa City, led by Governor Grimes.³

Several factors help account for this political turn. The source of immigration to Iowa had shifted from the southern and border states to the strong Whig states of New England, and from Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania.⁴ There were also many Germans coming into Iowa who were abolitionists.⁵ Iowa's two Democratic Senators — Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones — had proslavery leanings and were bringing disfavor to their party in the eyes of these new citizens.⁶

In 1854 Senator Jones had been defeated by a Whig, James Harlan, who

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¹ Jesse Macy, *Political Parties in the United States, 1846-1861* (New York, 1900), 296-7.

² Louis Pelzer, "The History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 7:201 (April, 1909).

³ Louis Pelzer, "The Origin and Organization of the Republican Party in Iowa," *ibid.*, 4:488-521 (October, 1906).

⁴ Charles Wilson Emery, "The Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 22:432 (October, 1940).

⁵ Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1909), 1:201.

⁶ Emery, "Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860," 432.

soon became a Republican. In 1858 Grimes defeated Senator Dodge for the other senatorial seat. Thus, by 1858 both Iowa Senate seats were held by Republicans, as were both of Iowa's House seats.⁷ Republicans had also entrenched themselves in the state capitol by 1858, and in 1859 Samuel J. Kirkwood had been elected governor. The 1860 election found the Republican party in Iowa confident of victory.⁸

Politics were much more personal and vituperative a century ago than today. Joint political debates between opponents were sometimes held, but might be unfairly managed. James B. MacBride, reflecting on the period, wrote:

I attended one [joint political debate] held by candidates for congress. Seats had been provided for the ladies, a great number of whom were expected to attend. The Democratic candidate was to speak first. His crowd came early with drum and fife, and took possession of all the seats. As soon as their speaker closed, they arose in a body with drum and fife, and marched away and continued marching while the other speaker was replying. Such were the courtesies of the time.⁹

When Jacob Butler, Republican from Muscatine, spoke from the steps of the capitol building in Iowa City on August 22, 1860, the Republican paper reported:

The unpleasant feature of the evening was the conduct of a few of the lazzaroni of the Democracy of this city. Feeling the force of the remarks of the speaker, their weak intellects could suggest no arguments to refute the points made by Mr. Butler, hence they must needs resort to the ruffianly expedient of yelling like a pack of hyenas in the vain hope of drowning out the voice of the speaker. They first attempted to break up the crowd by setting fire to a carpenter shop in the rear of the University and then crying fire.¹⁰

The press was highly partisan. Each newspaper would go to great lengths

⁷ *Senate Journal*, 1858, 119-20; 1860, 87-8. Samuel R. Curtis, Republican, was elected to the House from the First District in 1856; William Vandever, Republican, from the Second District, in 1858. See Mildred Throne (comp.), "Iowans in Congress, 1847-1953," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:333-4 (October, 1953).

⁸ David S. Sparks, "The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1850-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:29 (January, 1955).

⁹ James B. MacBride, "The Hard Times of '58-'60," *Iowa Historical Record*, 13:174-5 (October, 1897).

¹⁰ *Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 29, 1860.

to praise the speaking ability and character of the candidates of its party, but seldom reported anything good of the opposition. The arguments of these opposition speakers might be stated briefly, followed by a scathing refutation. The issues of the campaign were argued in the papers in a most caustic, personal, and partisan manner.¹¹ A common practice was that of quoting one or two sentences from a speech (often somewhat out of context) and comparing them with contradictory statements by the speaker himself or by fellow members of his party. The unity of the Republicans gave their press an advantage in this type of activity. The Democratic press, almost entirely for Douglas in Iowa in 1860, was just as vituperative, but there were fewer Democratic than Republican newspapers.

Political speeches were well attended, and usually preceded by torchlight processions of the Wide-Awakes for the Republicans or the Hickory Clubs for the Democrats.¹² The speeches were long, often lasting for over an hour, and when there were two major addresses, the listeners were virtually assured a three-hour program.

Presidential candidates did not make personal campaigns in the nineteenth century, but Stephen A. Douglas took to the stump in desperation.¹³ Thus, only the Democrats had the support of a presidential candidate during the 1860 campaign in Iowa. In October, Douglas spoke in Iowa City, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque.¹⁴ A high point in the Democratic campaign was reached on October 9, 1860, when Douglas spoke at Iowa City. Accompanied by prominent Illinois and Iowa Democrats, he arrived from Davenport on a special train at 11 o'clock in the morning. His arrival was announced by the booming of a cannon, and some thousand men, women, and children met him at the depot.¹⁵ Immediately he was escorted through the principal streets of the town at the head of a parade. Music was furnished

¹¹ Roy V. Sherman, "Pioneer Politics," *The Palimpsest*, 8:48 (January, 1927).

¹² Macbride, "Hard Times of '58-'60," 170-75; *Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 29, 1860; *Iowa City Press*, Aug. through Nov., 1860, *passim*; Kenneth F. Millsap, "The Election of 1860 in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:107-112 (April, 1950).

¹³ The Democrats were having a hard time raising money for the campaign, and to offset this, Douglas decided to break with tradition and take to the stump in person. For an excellent biography of Douglas, see George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934), especially p. 490 for his reasons for campaigning.

¹⁴ Pelzer, "History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860," 226-7; Millsap, "Election of 1860 in Iowa," 117.

¹⁵ *Iowa City Republican*, Oct. 10, 1860.

by three bands; a number of wagons, "bearing hickory poles and union colors, formed a conspicuous part of the procession."¹⁶

About two o'clock in the afternoon Douglas was escorted from the "Crummey House," where he was staying, to the park, where he spoke from a specially erected stand. He was weary and worn from months of speaking, and he suffered from a hoarseness that hindered his speech. Nevertheless, he spoke for about forty minutes, becoming hoarser as he proceeded. After he had finished, addresses were made by Augustus Caesar Dodge and by one member of the party from Illinois.¹⁷

The size of the crowd that heard Douglas was variously estimated. The strongly pro-Democratic Muscatine *Daily Review* claimed it to be over forty thousand, but that figure is an obvious exaggeration.¹⁸ The Iowa City Democratic paper summed up the views of the three local editors as follows:

It is estimated by the *Iowa City Reporter* that the attendant throng numbered *two thousand*; by the *Republican*, *four thousand*; and by competent judges, *TWELVE to FIFTEEN thousand*; there being heavy delegations from Iowa County, Washington County, Scott and Muscatine, and an immense inpouring of the Democracy of Old Johnson.¹⁹

Following is the speech as taken down in shorthand and published in a Muscatine paper, together with the reporter's comments on the reaction of the crowd.²⁰

THE STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS SPEECH

Fellow Citizens of Iowa: When passing over these rich and beautiful prairies which lie between here and Davenport, I was forcibly reminded of the great and rapid changes which have taken place in this country in the last quarter of a century. Twenty-five years ago, on my way up the Mississippi River, on a steamer, admiring the country along the shore where there were a few scattering settlements, I was informed that the land was good for ten miles back — beyond which was one vast desert. I state this fact to

¹⁶ Pelzer, "History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860," 226-7; *Iowa City Press*, Oct. 10, 1860.

¹⁷ *Iowa City Republican*, Oct. 10, 1860; *Iowa City Press*, Oct. 10, 1860.

¹⁸ *Muscatine Review*, Oct. 11, 1860.

¹⁹ *Iowa City Press*, Oct. 16, 1860.

²⁰ *Muscatine Review*, Oct. 11, 1860.

show the ignorance which prevailed throughout our country in respect to the resources and character of the Great West. As late as 1845, when Congress passed the first act for the admission of Iowa into the Union, the boundary was fixed through the center of the great desert, half way between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. (LAUGHTER) The people of Iowa, a territory at that time, became indignant with Congress for prescribing such a boundary, and refused to come into the Union. At the next session of Congress, it was my pleasant duty, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, to report the bill for the admission of Iowa into the Union with her present boundaries. (CRIES OF "GOOD, GOOD," and APPLAUSE.) With the aid of your then gallant and powerful delegate, your eminent citizen, who is now on the stand — General [Augustus Caesar] Dodge — I succeeded in carrying that bill and making the people of Iowa a sovereign state of the Union. I knew your citizens then, even better than I do now. During the whole of your territorial existence, I was familiar with the people of Iowa. I never knew a more intelligent, industrious, energetic people in my life, and my conscientious belief is, that you were just as capable of self-government when a territory as you have been since you became a state. (CRIES OF "THAT'S SO" AND APPLAUSE.) If you were not capable of self-government while a territory, I would like to know why. You were emigrants from the old states. You were capable of self-government before you left the land of your birth — did you lose that capacity when you crossed the Mississippi River? (CRIES OF "NO," AND LAUGHTER.) And yet it is hard to convince our Eastern friends, especially those of the Republican Party, that an American citizen residing in a territory is capable of self-government. (CRIES OF "THAT'S A FACT," AND LAUGHTER.) I can make some allowance for our Eastern friends who never saw a territory — who never feasted their eyes upon a prairie, and who have had no experience in frontier life, for being ignorant on this subject; but what excuse is there for a Western Republican — for a Republican in Iowa — to pretend that the people in a territory, as well as those of a state — are not fit to govern themselves?

The Republican Party concede that the people of the states are capable of governing themselves in all things — slavery included. Hence, they are willing that each state shall decide the slavery question for itself, but they deny the application of that principle to a territory. (CRIES OF "TRUE" AND "HURRAH FOR DOUGLAS.") Why not allow the citizens of a territory to

exercise that inestimable privilege as well as the citizens of a state? (A VOICE, "WHY NOT?") Are they not just as intelligent? Were you not just as well qualified to govern yourselves while living here in a territory as you were before you left your Eastern homes? Mr. [William H.] Seward, in his late speech in Michigan, informed us what the Republican creed is on this point. He said that the Republican Party are in favor of self-government in the states, and that the people of the states had not only the right to make laws for their own government, but through their members in Congress, to make laws to govern the territories outside of the states. According to this theory, Republicanism consists of allowing the people of the states, first to govern themselves, and secondly, through Congress, to govern a people not represented in Congress. He calls that Republicanism; I call it "toryism." (CRIES OF "THAT'S THE RIGHT WORD FOR IT," "GOOD," AND LAUGHTER.)

Our fathers separated from Great Britain on that identical point. The people of England claimed the right, not only to govern themselves through Parliament, but also to make laws to govern the American colonies without giving us a representation in Parliament. (CRIES OF "THAT'S A FACT.") And now the modern Republicans, using the arguments of the tories, claim the right, not only to govern themselves in the states, but through Congress to make laws to govern the territories without giving the people any representation in Congress. On this identical principle the Revolutionary War was fought. On this identical principle our institutions were established, and if we expect to maintain them we must defend and carry it out in good faith.

A large portion of my political life has been devoted to the defense and advancement of the rights and interests of the people of the territories and of the new states. ("THAT'S SO.") During the brief period that I have served in Congress, it has been my fortune to write and bring forward, not only the bill that admitted Iowa into the Union as a state, but also the bills that brought Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon into this Union. (CRIES OF "GOOD.") And it has also been my fortune to write and bring forward the bills which created the Territories of Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, Utah, Kansas and Nebraska. Having brought forward those bills and watched their progress through Congress, I have necessarily felt an interest in the prosperity of the people of this great Northwestern Empire (CLAPPING OF HANDS AND LOUD CHEERING.) as a part of our territorial system.

I many years ago originated and introduced into the House of Representatives the Homestead Bill. (CHEERS.) Subsequently in the Senate I introduced the Homestead Bill, over and over again. During the whole period of my public service, I have advocated every homestead bill that has ever been introduced by any body. (GREAT APPLAUSE.) I have voted for them all, and never against one of them. In the face of these facts, we hear the Republican leaders appealing to the people to support Lincoln in order that they may get a homestead bill. (GREAT LAUGHTER.) Will they tell you when it was that Abraham Lincoln ever introduced a homestead bill? (CRIES OF "NEVER.") Will they show you the records, when and where Abraham Lincoln ever voted for a homestead bill? He was in Congress during territorial acquisitions. He was a member of Congress while I was trying to pass a homestead bill. He found time to make speeches against the Mexican war. (CRIES OF "THAT'S TRUE," "HIT HIM AGAIN.") He had time to vote for resolutions declaring that war unjust. He had time to take an active part against the American soldiers who were then fighting our battles in Mexico (CRIES OF "TRUE," AND APPLAUSE.) But I never yet heard that he had time to write, or introduce, or speak for or advocate a homestead bill. (CRIES OF "NEVER, NEVER," AND APPLAUSE.) I should not have alluded to all these things, but for the fact that the Republican leaders are trying to insinuate without directly charging that I have not been the friend of the homestead bill. (PERSON IN THE CROWD, "THEY NOT ONLY INSINUATE, BUT THEY CHARGE IT.")

Well, all I have to say is that every man who charges it, knows when he does so, that he is uttering a lie. (IMMENSE APPLAUSE.) I authorize you to tell any man and every man in America who says it or insinuates it, that he knows it is a slander when he makes the charge! (CRIES OF "GOOD, GOOD; GIVE IT TO THEM," AND APPLAUSE.) They are not so ignorant but what they know better. Why is it necessary for public men thus to misrepresent and falsify the public records? Why cannot they give a man full and just credit for all of his good deeds, and then discuss the propriety of his political principles?

Having always advocated the Homestead Bill as a part of our territorial policy, I have appealed to the old states to give the people of the new states and territories the right of self-government, and the same as they themselves possessed it. (APPLAUSE.)

Now my friends, you find that in the midst of unbounded prosperity,

when the whole country is blessed with health and an abundant harvest, the people of the United States are discontented instead of happy and contented; you find that in our political contests men are appealing to sectional passions, and sectional ambition — and are stirring up sectional strife between different parts of the country.

Why is this discontent showing itself? There must be a cause, and I desire to invite your attention to it. I believe that you will find the cause of all this alienation of feeling in the attempt on the part of the Federal Government to interfere with the domestic affairs of the people. Congress never yet touched the question of slavery in the territories without creating sectional strife and bitterness of feeling. (CRIES OF "THAT'S SO.") Whenever Congress has interfered with that question, the people of the North have been arrayed against the South, and the passions of the South inflamed against the North. (CRIES OF "TRUE.") I appeal to you if such was not the case in the great struggle of 1850. You know that sectional agitation was carried on to such an extent in 1850, that the wisest and best men in the country became alarmed for the safety of the Republic. What produced it? Was it not an attempt on behalf of the Federal Government to prohibit slavery in the territories wherever the people wanted it? The free soilers of that day, like the Republicans of the present time, demanded that Congress should decide the question of slavery in the territories instead of allowing the people to decide for themselves. On the other hand, the secessionists and disunionists demanded that Congress should decide the question of slavery in the territories instead of allowing the people to decide for themselves. The secessionists and disunionists demanded that Congress should maintain and protect slavery in the territories. By this means two sectional parties were created; the one appealing to the North against the South — the other, to the South against the North. When this strife reached the point that the Union itself was in danger, the great Clay, who had performed his duties on earth and had retired to the shades of Ashland to prepare for another and better world, was aroused in his retirement and came forward and resumed his seat in the Senate, to see if he, by his experience, by his wisdom, and by the renown of his great name, could not do something to restore peace to a distracted country. Clay was our leader. All the union Whigs and all the union Democrats rallied under him in 1850, as they had rallied under Jackson in 1832, to put down nullification. (CHEERS.) You all know the result of those great patriotic efforts. They

resulted in the compromise measures of 1850 which were passed on the principle of non-interference by Congress with the question of slavery in the territories. Thus, you see that while the attempt on the part of Congress to control the slavery question produced this strife, the refusal to touch the question, restored peace and harmony to the country.

Why cannot we, today, in 1860, stand by the same principle which restored peace in 1850? (CRIES OF "GOOD, WE CAN DO IT.") Remember that only eight years ago every Whig and every Democrat in America was pledged by the platform of his party to this principle of non-interference by Congress with slavery. In 1852, when the Whig Convention nominated Scott at Baltimore, it affirmed the compromise measures of 1850, and the same year the Democratic National convention also affirmed them; so both parties stood pledged at that time to the identical doctrine which the Democratic Party is now advocating and supporting. Why cannot old Whigs and old Democrats now uphold firmly and in good faith, that principle which was then established, and upon which alone can the peace of the country be maintained? ("THAT'S IT," APPLAUSE.)

The Democratic Party now stands pledged to that principle. ("THAT'S SO.") We are pledged to non-interference by Congress with the slavery question. We are pledged to banish the slavery question from the halls of Congress for ever, (CRIES OF "GOOD, THAT'S RIGHT," APPLAUSE.) and remand it to the people in the states and in the territories to decide it for themselves. (RENEWED CRIES OF "THAT'S RIGHT," "GOOD," AND APPLAUSE.) And here you will permit me to remark, that whatever may be your opinions as to whether or not that principle of Popular Sovereignty has been carried out in good faith heretofore, I believe there is not a man in America who doubts but that, if I was President, I would carry it out. (CRIES OF "THAT'S DOUGLAS," "SURE," ETC. IMMENSE APPLAUSE AND GREAT ENTHUSIASM.) I have fought for that principle against Northern fanaticism when it threatened my destruction, ("THAT'S SO.") and lately I have fought for the same principle against Southern fanaticism, when it threatened my political existence. (GREAT APPLAUSE.) I have stood by the principle under all circumstances, have received support from all who would support it, and have fought for it. ("TRUE," "MAINTAIN THE GOOD FIGHT," "THAT'S THE WAY TO DO IT," CHEERS.)

I am amused sometimes at the leaders of the Republican Party when they talk about "Douglas acting with them." (GREAT LAUGHTER. "THAT'S

FUNNY.") When was it I ever acted with them? (SHOUTS OF "NEVER! NEVER!") On the Lecompton question I took the ground that the Lecompton Constitution must be sent back to the people of Kansas and submitted to them to be decided by a fair vote. ("RIGHT, RIGHT," CHEERS.) I held that if a majority of the people desired to come into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, they had a right to do so; but if a majority were opposed to it, they had a right to make a new Constitution, and be admitted into the Union with slavery or without — just as they pleased. (CHEERS.) The Republicans joined with me on that question, for the time being. (CRIES OF "THAT'S A FACT," AND APPLAUSE.) They abandoned their old doctrine, that the people should not be allowed to form their own institutions, and voted under oath that the people of Kansas should come into the Union as a slave state or a free state, just as they pleased. I did not permit myself to be driven from sound principles simply because the Republicans voted with me. (LOUD CHEERS.) I only regret that, after having once abandoned their Abolition creed, and voted with Crittenden and myself in favor of the principle of non-intervention and Popular Sovereignty, they had not stuck to that principle. (TREMENDOUS APPLAUSE.) I repeat, therefore, that I challenge investigation into my own record, and defy any man on earth to prove that I have not been faithful to this principle of self-government in the territories, under all circumstances. ("YOU HAVE BEEN FAITHFUL," "DOUGLAS COULD NEVER BE ANYTHING BUT RIGHT," APPLAUSE.) If you will only carry out that principle there is an end to slavery agitation. If you will banish the slavery question from the halls of Congress, and leave the people to decide it, Northern abolitionism would not last a week, and Southern disunion would die in a day. ("WE BELIEVE YOU," AND GREAT APPLAUSE.)

The abolitionists in the North and the secessionists in the South live by their opposition to each other. (LAUGHTER.) They are partners in a common cause, while they are apparently fighting each other. Let us see if they do not agree in principle. The Republicans of the North, under the lead of Mr. Lincoln, demand that Congress shall prohibit slavery wherever the people do not want it. The secessionists of the South, under the lead of Mr. Breckinridge, demand that Congress shall maintain and protect slavery wherever the people want it. (LAUGHTER.) Northern Republicans do not ask Congress to prohibit slavery where the people are opposed to it, for the reason that wherever people are opposed to it, they will prohibit it them-

selves. (CRIES OF "THAT'S A FACT," LAUGHTER, AND APPLAUSE.) On the other hand, the secessionists of the South only desire Congress to interfere in behalf of slavery when necessary. When is it necessary, in their estimation, for Congress to interfere? Not where the people are in favor of it, for wherever the people want it there they will introduce and protect it. ("THAT'S SO.") Hence, these Breckinridge men only desire to have Congress interfere in favor of slavery where the people do not want it, and will not have it. (CRIES OF "TRUE," "YOU'VE GOT THEM," AND APPLAUSE.) Thus you find that the Republicans of the North and the secessionists of the South agree in principle. They agree, first, that Congress shall control the slavery question; second, that in controlling it Congress shall always decide it against the wishes of the people; (LAUGHTER.) and third, in denouncing, ridiculing, and abusing Popular Sovereignty and non-intervention. (THAT'S SO.) Agreeing thus far, they differ only as to the manner in which Congress shall settle the question. The Republicans want Congress to decide it in favor of the North, and the secessionists want Congress to decide in favor of the South against the North. They unite in appealing to the passions of the different sections and endeavoring to draw a geographical line across the continent, rallying every man North of that line under one banner. ("THAT'S TRUE.") Suppose they should succeed — how long can this Union last? How long can it last under either of these sectional parties? The one is just as dangerous to the peace of the country and the perpetuity of the Union as the other. In fact, they are one party, for they both are interventionists and they are both in favor of keeping the slavery question in Congress. They wish to keep it there, knowing that just so long as they succeed in doing so, there never can be peace or harmony between the North and the South. ("THAT'S THEIR VITALITY.")

Yes, my friend, that is the vitality of those parties. The Republicans could not live without the aid of the secessionists, and the secessionists would have no capital to work upon, had they not that which the Republicans furnish them. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE.) Their relations are the same as they were in 1850, when Messrs. Seward, Sumner, Chase, Giddings, and other abolitionists stood side by side with Davis, Hunter, Mason, Butler, and that whole class of Southern fire-eaters, in opposing the compromise measures of that year. Then these Northern Republicans and these Southern fire-eaters, united against the old Whigs and the old Democrats who were devoted to union. Now you find them again united in a common

cause. Have you not noticed what a wonderful good feeling there is between the Breckinridge men and the Republicans? (LAUGHTER.) Have you ever seen a Republican leader who did not say he preferred Breckinridge to Douglas? (CRIES OF "NEVER.") And have you ever seen a leader in the Breckinridge party who did not prefer Lincoln to Douglas? ("THAT'S SO," APPLAUSE.) I am speaking now of the leaders, and not of these honest men whom the leaders have cheated. (GREAT APPLAUSE WHICH LASTED FOR SEVERAL MINUTES, THREE CHEERS BEING PROPOSED AND GIVEN FOR DOUGLAS AND JOHNSON. WHEN ORDER WAS RESTORED, JUDGE DOUGLAS RESUMED.)

I was referring to the sympathy between the leaders of the Republican party and the leaders of the Southern disunionists. (A VOICE OBJECTED, "THEY ARE NOT DISUNIONISTS.")

Not disunionists. I trust the time will prove they were not. (APPLAUSE, "I HOPE SO.") But what do we find now? We find these same men whom I call disunionists declaring that if Lincoln is elected President they will dissolve the Union. ("THAT'S SO.")

Yes, that you acknowledge. Then their first position is that they will dissolve the Union if Lincoln is elected. What next? They are doing everything in their power to enable Lincoln to be elected over myself. (CRIES OF "THEY CAN'T ELECT HIM." "HE CAN'T BE ELECTED," "NEVER, NEVER," AND APPLAUSE.) No, my friends, he cannot be elected. (TREMENDOUS APPLAUSE.) I have seen enough to convince me that the American people never intend to entrust their destiny in the keeping of this Republican Party, and November will demonstrate that fact. (RENEWED AND LONG CONTINUED APPLAUSE.) But why did these disunionists secede at Baltimore? Does any man in America doubt that I would have beaten Lincoln two to one in every state in the Union except two, if they had not seceded? ("NOT A MAN IN THE WORLD.") No man doubts it! Why then did they secede? Not with the intention of beating Lincoln, but for the purpose of beating me. (CRIES OF "THAT WAS THEIR OBJECT.") The Breckinridge disunionists acknowledge that the object of their secession at Baltimore was to divide the party and thereby defeat the election of Douglas. They did not expect to elect their own man. They had no hope of that. They had to choose between Lincoln and myself. They have made the choice and are helping divide the party for the benefit of Lincoln. (CRIES OF "THEY CAN'T DIVIDE US HERE, WE ARE ALL FOR DOUGLAS," AND APPLAUSE.) I wonder if the federal office holders are weak enough to suppose that Lincoln would

keep them in office because they helped to elect him. (VOICE — "THEY'LL NEVER HAVE THE CHANCE TO SEE," APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER.)

It is notorious that every office holder who can be controlled by orders from Washington, is acting in concert night and day with the Republicans to defeat the Democratic Party. If Lincoln should be elected he would owe his election, not to the Republicans, but to two men, James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge. (CRIES OF "THAT'S A FACT.") The Republicans have no hope of carrying Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania today, except through the aid of Buchanan and Breckinridge federal office holders. I confess to you now, while the election is going on in those states,²¹ that if we triumph we have got to defeat the Administration and Republicans combined. (CRIES OF "IT WILL BE DONE." ENTHUSIASTIC DEMOCRAT — "JUST AS YOU BEAT THEM BOTH IN ILLINOIS.")

Yes, sir, just as I beat them both in Illinois. (GREAT APPLAUSE.) This contest is the Illinois fight all over again on a national theater. (VOICE — "IT WILL RESULT THE SAME WAY.") I have been through the fight once, and I know what an unscrupulous and unholy alliance it is. I appealed to the honest people then, and they decided in my favor. . . . (THREE CHEERS.)

Having adopted this scheme by which they hope to defeat me and elect Lincoln, the leaders of the Breckinridge party down in Virginia propounded to me the question whether or not, I would help them dissolve the Union if they succeeded in electing Mr. Lincoln. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE.) I told them no — never on earth. ("STICK TO THAT," AND GREAT APPLAUSE.) The election of any man by the American people, according to the Constitution, is no cause for disunion, ("THAT'S RIGHT.") and above all I will never join in a plot to elect a Republican in order to get an excuse for dissolving it. ("GOOD DOCTRINE," AND APPLAUSE.) I told them in Pennsylvania, as I tell you people of Iowa City today, that whosoever is elected President, must be inaugurated, and after he is inaugurated he must be supported in the exercise of all his just powers. If, after that, he violates the Constitution, I would help punish him in obedience to it by hanging him as a traitor to his country. (LOUD CHEERS.)

²¹ Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio held their presidential elections in October. "Douglas was in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, when a telegram came from John W. Forney announcing that the Republicans had elected their Governor in Pennsylvania. A little later he had a dispatch from Indiana telling of the Republican victory there. 'Mr. Lincoln is the next President,' he remarked to Sheridan, his secretary. 'We must try to save the Union. I will go South.'" Milton, *Eve of Conflict*, 496.

We in the Northwest cannot permit the Union to be dissolved. ("RIGHT," AND APPLAUSE.) We are emigrants from the East and from the South, from the free states and from the slave states. We have entered the wilderness together, and here upon the prairies have made our homes — marriages have taken place and children have been born — and our children have grandparents in the Carolinas as well as in New York. The Union cannot be dissolved without severing the ties that bind the heart of the daughter to the mother and the son to the father. This Union cannot be dissolved without separating us from the graves of our ancestors. We are bound to the South as well as to the East, by the ties of commerce, of business, and of interest. We must follow, with our produce in all time to come, the course of the Mississippi River into the broad ocean. Hence, we cannot permit this Union to be dissolved. It must be preserved. And how? Only by preserving inviolate the Constitution as our fathers made it. (CRIES OF "GOOD," AND APPLAUSE.)

My friends, there are eminent persons here prepared to address you. (MANY VOICES — "GO ON, GO ON.") I am becoming too hoarse to make it either agreeable for you to listen or prudent for me to talk longer. Yesterday I was under the necessity of making speeches at ten different places. It was one of my leisure days, and that is the way my friends serve me. (LAUGHTER. A VOICE — "YOU SERVED YOUR COUNTRY," AND APPLAUSE.) I am gratified at these vast assemblages. They show that all the people feel a deep and abiding interest in the great principles upon which alone this Union can be preserved in peace. I take it for granted that these immense demonstrations are not intended as personal compliments to me. I would much rather believe that they are the evidence of your devotion to those great principles to which we are all attached, and upon which the prosperity of the country depends.

Now, my friends, I will take my leave of you by renewing my grateful acknowledgments for the kindness and courtesy with which you have received and listened to me.

DOCUMENT
AN IOWAN IN THE MEXICAN WAR
*Edited by George S. May**

Iowa was not yet a state when the Mexican War began in May, 1846. When President James K. Polk issued a call for 50,000 volunteers at the start of the war, the Territory of Iowa was asked to furnish one regiment. More than enough volunteers to comprise such a force offered their services, but the group was not called into action. Instead, three Iowa companies served various lengths of time at Fort Atkinson, relieving the regular army forces for action in Mexico. In February, 1847, Congress enacted legislation calling for the enlistment of ten regiments of regular army infantry to serve for the duration of the war. The Fifteenth Regiment, commanded by Colonel G. W. Morgan, was recruited in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Company K was raised in Iowa and was the only Iowa company to see active service in Mexico. Enlisted in southeastern Iowa in April, Company K assembled at Fort Madison and left by steamboat for New Orleans at once, without joining the rest of the regiment at Newport Barracks, Kentucky. At New Orleans, Company K was shortly transferred to an ocean vessel which took it to Vera Cruz. Thus, within less than two months after enlistment, the men found themselves in the midst of military action. They suffered heavily in the ensuing months, although not primarily as the result of enemy shell fire. When they were mustered out at Covington, Kentucky, on August 4, 1848, only 51 of the 113 officers and men who had initially comprised the company were still available for discharge. Eight had been discharged earlier because of wounds or sickness; five others had been killed in battle. The remaining 49 who were missing from the ranks had died from the diseases that struck down one out of every ten men in the American ranks.¹

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¹ Cyril B. Upham, "The Mexican War," *Iowa and War* (24 nos., Iowa City, 1917-1919), 12:2-18; Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (2 vols., New York, 1919), 2:74-6, 363; Jean B. Kern, "Warden and Warrior," *The Palimpsest*, 29:191-2 (June, 1948); *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 6:809, 822.

The war between the United States and Mexico, from 1846 to 1848, is remembered chiefly for its results rather than for the fighting which it involved. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico gave up all claims to Texas north of the Rio Grande, and ceded to the United States a huge area which included all of the present states of California and New Mexico, and parts of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado. In spite of these gains, the war was one of the least popular in which the United States has ever been engaged. Northern antislavery forces were especially critical of American entry into the war because of their fear that it was only a means of obtaining new slave territory for the South. The necessity of organizing the land acquired by the treaty was the principal cause of the momentous political controversy which ended in the Compromise of 1850.

The details of the war itself, however, are of interest aside from the non-military consequences of the conflict. In a very real sense the Mexican War constituted for the American army a military rehearsal for the far greater Civil War of the 1860's. Lee, Grant, Sherman, McClellan, Meade, Jackson, Longstreet, Beauregard, the Johnstons, and many other of the principal commanding officers of the Northern and Southern armies between 1861 and 1865 gained their practical battle experience as junior officers in the Mexican campaigns. Fighting over strange and difficult terrain, usually opposed by numerically superior but poorly led enemy armies, handicapped by inadequate means of transportation and communication, and receiving less than unanimous support from home, these officers and their men did not have an easy time of it. About 100,000 men fought in the war, many of them six or twelve-month volunteers. Of this force, 1,721 were killed or died of their wounds, 4,102 were wounded, and 11,155 died of disease.

The two principal campaigns of the war by American forces were the invasion of northeastern Mexico by land from Texas by troops under General Zachary Taylor, and the sea-borne invasion of central Mexico from the Gulf port of Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico City under the leadership of General Winfield Scott. Taylor's successes, from the battle of Palo Alto in May, 1846, to the great victory of Buena Vista in February, 1847, won him great popularity in the United States, but did not convince his superior, Scott, that the war could be won in the north. Late in 1846 Scott persuaded President James K. Polk that the quickest way to victory was an invasion of the heart of Mexico, aimed at its capital. In a remarkable campaign lasting from March to September, 1847, and with an army never

numbering over 10,000 men, Scott forced the Mexicans to sue for peace.

The following document is the recollections of a member of Company K of the Fifteenth Regiment which fought with Scott in this central Mexico campaign, Fabian Brydolf. He was born in Sweden in 1819. After studying to be a landscape painter he came to the United States in 1841. Finding little demand for his artistic services, Brydolf became a journeyman house and sign painter, working principally in Ohio and Michigan. In 1846 he came to Iowa, as he relates in the account below. In addition to serving in the Mexican War, Brydolf later fought in the Civil War, enlisting as a captain of Company I of the Sixth Iowa. He lost his right arm at the Battle of Shiloh in April, 1862. In September of that year he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry Regiment. About a month before the capture of Vicksburg in 1863 he resigned but was shortly appointed lieutenant colonel of the Second Regiment of the Veteran Reserve Corps. Following the war Colonel Brydolf engaged in business in Burlington. Late in life he taught himself to paint with his left hand and won considerable praise for his landscape paintings. He died in 1897.²

Colonel Brydolf's account of his Mexican War experiences was given to the State Historical Society of Iowa by Miss Wilma D. Haynes, director of the department of physical education at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri. It was one of several reminiscences which came to her father, Eugene C. Haynes of Centerville, Iowa, in connection with the writing of the history of the Sixth Regiment. This history had been begun in 1898 by General Henry H. Wright after he had been chosen regimental historian. Upon his death in 1905, the completed manuscript, together with his notes and sources, was placed in the hands of Haynes. The history was eventually published by the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1923.

General Wright was assisted in writing his history by regimental survivors, several of whom wrote their wartime reminiscences. Presumably Colonel Brydolf's account of his Mexican War experiences dates from this period. Whether he also wrote of his Civil War experiences is not known; this manuscript is the only one found. The document, written in pencil, is reproduced here with the spelling and punctuation exactly as found in the original.

² *Biographical Review of Des Moines County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1905), 901-902. For Civil War record, see *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion . . .*, 1:808, 3:918.

FABIAN BRYDOLF'S REMINISCENCES OF THE MEXICAN WAR

The undersigned left the City of Marshall [Michigan] the spring of 1846 for the City of Detroit, worked that summer at my trade, early in the fall I joined a Band on a Steamer bound for Buffalo, when the Steamer was about leaving for the upper lakes and the Band was playing on the Hurrikan Deck I got into a quarrel with the Leader. I picked up my instruments and things and went a shore and to work at painting, while thus employed a Company of Emigrants from Sweden landed at Buffalo. Amongst thise people happend to be an old School mate of mine. they were bound for Iowa. I was persuaded to join them as an Interpreter, they to pay me the same wages I received at Buffalo besides my passage. Well I preformed my duty in this respect with some succes, we went to the Ohio River by Canal from Erie down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and finally landed at Keokuk. Helped them to enter Land west of wher now the City of Des Moines is situated. When this was accomplished I went to the City of Burlington

At that time B—— was a small place but I liked it, situated on the West Bank of the Mississippi River. the Town is built on Three Hills with a valley betwin, the scenery is rather nice.

I was received very kindly by the young men of the place, plaid in a small Band, attended Balls and dansing School during the Winter of 46 & 47 in fact had a jolly time, of cours I worked at my trade during this time.

In the Spring of 1847 — 10 Regiments of Regulars were inlisted for during the Mexican War, One Company of these troops was raised in Iowa, I joined this Co., and started for New Orleans the 1st of May 1847 Remained in that City about a week and then prosided on a Sailing Vessel for Vera Cruze — This City had been Captured by Gen. Scott,³ here the Regiment got together — Our Camping ground the Beach of the Gulf of Mexico, sand very deap and the weather extremely hot. We remained here som little time troops arriving daly. Finally the march towards the City of Mexico 300 Miles distant was begun⁴

³ General Winfield Scott, general-in-chief of the United States Army, landed south of Vera Cruz with some 10,000 men on March 9, 1847, and captured Vera Cruz on March 29. He then pushed inland, won the Battle of Cerro Gordo on April 18, and by mid-May had occupied Puebla, about two-thirds of the distance to his objective, Mexico City. Here Scott had to wait for reinforcements from the states. Smith, *War with Mexico*, 2:17-74.

⁴ The Fifteenth Regiment was attached to the brigade of Brigadier General Franklin Pierce, the future United States President. Pierce's main force did not leave the coast to join Scott's forces at Puebla until mid-July. Some units had left earlier,

The first 2 or 3 days march was hard through deep sand, and the heat intolerable, but gradually we came to higher ground when the heat was not so great and we got along better. At the National Bridge we had a considerable fight. The Mexicans had 2 forts one on each side of the Bridge on very high ground, the nature of the ground was such, that these forts could not be taken except after crossing the Bridge, consequently our troops had to run the Gauntlet under heavy fire from both forts this was done, and the Mexicans driven out of their fortifications. I was wondering at the time why they did not plant Artillery to rake the Bridge and prevent us from crossing without great loss of life. The march was continued we entered the City of Halappa [Jalapa] without opposition continuing the march we came to Cerro Gordo at this place Gen. Scott had a great Battle (it is to be understood that Gen. Scott and his army had preceded us, we were coming to reinforce him.) it is also to be noted that during this march we were continually harassed by Mexican Irregular Troops, a sort of Banditti in one of this fights our Capt was wounded in the leg and brought on a litter to the Castle of Perote, where we now arrived. The Capt would not have his leg amputated mortification followed and he Died.⁵ Finally we arrived at the City of Puebla where Genl. Scott's Army was waiting for us.

The Army remained in Puebla for several weeks, being drilled and instructed, which was needed, as at least 10 Regiments were raw recruits. I liked this life and took considerable pride in it. I had been promoted to Sergeant and was helping to drill the Company. I was provided with Military Books and soon became proficient in both Company and Battalion drill.

When General Scott got ready we started for the City of Mexico. The first Battle was "Contreras" a fortification of considerable strength had been constructed at this place, the American Genl. wanted to get in the rear of this place, and in order to do so 3000 Troops were ordered to cross

however. Brydolf's company apparently marched with Brigadier General George Cadwalader, who left Vera Cruz on June 8 and reached Puebla by July 8 after several engagements with guerrillas along the way. Scott had not enough troops to keep a line of communications open with the coast, which made it necessary for the reinforcements to fight their way through to him. *Ibid.*, 2:77, 171; N. C. Brooks, *A Complete History of the Mexican War* . . . (Philadelphia, 1849), 445-52.

⁵ Brydolf's Captain was Edwin Guthrie who had come to Iowa from New York in about 1840. He became warden of the Fort Madison penitentiary. He helped organize Company K and was elected as its captain. He was wounded at La Hoya Pass on June 20, 1847, and died a month later at Perote. Guthrie County, Iowa, is named in his honor. Jacob A. Swisher, *Iowa in Times of War* (Iowa City, 1943), 326-7; Kern, "Warden and Warrior," 182-92.

what was called "the pedrigal" ground this consisted of a heap of Rocks almost impassable for infantry and totally so for Artillery and Cavalry our Regiment the 15th where amongst these Troops well we got over at last to find ourselves confronted by a Mexican force estimated at 10,000 men under Santa Anna they had 7000 in the fort; now this was very comfortable I thought, 17000 against 3000 the enemy supplied with Artillery and Cavalry we without either. They were strong enough to destroy us — Well did they do it? We shall see We were formed in line of Battle confronting Santa Anna the Enemy made considerable noise with Trumpets, drums &c but did not attack us, it was now getting late. at dark rain set in rained all night in morning Santa Anna had disappeared and Contreras was taken in 15 minutes.⁶ I myself got inside the fortifications Barefooted, my Shoes where some were large and stuck in the mud It was impossible for me to get along without Boots or Shoes so I hunted round and found a dead Mexican officer with a splendid pair of Boots on, I reasend somewhat in this way My Friend you are dead and do really not need this Boots I still live and can not get along without them, I am sure you will excuse me if I take them, well I pulled the Boots from the dead officers feet and put them on mine, and they fitted me to perfection. Such is War.

We pursued the enemy and soon struck the fortification of Charobusco [Churubusco] here we had a harder fight. our regiment was on the left of the Army consequently did not attack the fortification in front but were posted to obstruct their retreat and we took a great many Prisoners.⁷

In this Battle I was wounded in the Head just how this occurred I do not exactly know I was loading my Musket had the rammer down to Ram home the Ball when I was struck, it knocked me down, but in a moment I was up again, still holding my musket in my left hand. I looked around for the Rammer but it was gone, the supposition is the Ball struck the Rammer & the Rammer struck me above the Right Eye it was but a slight wound but it Bled considerably.

By this time the Battle was about over the enemy was in full retreat towards the City of Mexico and the Dragoons were getting ready to pursue

Our Major (Mills was his name) came riding up "hellow Sergeant are

⁶ Scott began leaving Puebla on August 7. The battle of Contreras was fought on August 19 and 20. Smith, *War with Mexico*, 2:92, 104-110.

⁷ The battle of Churubusco was fought on August 20, following the victory at Contreras. *Ibid.*, 110-19.

you wounded" only a skrach Major well take a drop out of my flask, thank you major I don't care if I do, I was quiet a favorit of the Major, I am going to join the Dragoons in persuet, will you allow me to say one word, sertenly, do not do it, You have done your duty, let the Dragoons attend to theirs, stay with the Regiment. No I am bound to go! the major was not a very good Horseman and I new it, besides his horse was rather vicious, well he went, but he never returnd, and I was probably the last Man that ever spoak to him⁸

We could have taken the City of Mexico at this time without any trouble, but an armistice was concluded with the expectation of Peace, it failed and in a short time the fighting was renewed. The next Battle was Molina Del Re [Molino del Rey]. our Regiment was not in this Battle we came just as it was over we helpt to pick up the dead and take care of the wounded and held the ground taken,⁹ we were continually fired upon from the Castle of Chapultepec. Batteries were erected to Bombard this Castel and heavy fiering continued for a couple of days with little result. The Castle was finaly ordered to be taken by storm. We had to pass over level ground for a considerable distance which was done on a run, we drove the Mexicans before us scaled the walls and took the Castle, the dead Mexicans lay so thick around that you could have walked on their boddys without touching the ground. I with others had the pleasure of houling down the Mexican flagg and raising ours on the top of the Castel. Our regiment was formed on the parade ground and General Scott rode up and made a speech to us and ordered us to remain and garrison the Castle of Chapultepec.¹⁰

⁸ Major Frederick Mills of the Fifteenth Regiment was a graduate of Yale in 1840. He came to Burlington, Iowa, in 1841 as a law partner of J. C. Hall. He and two fellow Democrats, Theodore S. Parvin and Enoch W. Eastman, opposed the efforts of their party to secure the adoption of the 1844 Iowa Constitution because it would cut the entire Missouri slope from the Territory of Iowa. Mills County, Iowa, was named in his honor. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:193-4; Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Mexican War* (Indianapolis, 1950), 342.

⁹ The armistice to which Brydolf refers lasted from August 24 to September 7, 1847. The battle of Molino del Rey was fought on September 8. Smith, *War with Mexico*, 2:140-47.

¹⁰ The decisive battle of Chapultepec was fought on September 13 with the Fifteenth Regiment in the midst of the hardest fighting. Justin Smith describes the scene as Scott congratulated his victorious troops. "The men pressed round him. He told them how glad he was, and how proud of them; and how proud their country, their wives, their sisters and their sweethearts would be; and it seemed as if such cheering had never been heard, anywhere in the world, before." The following day,

while the Fifteenth Regiment held the Castle of Chapultepec and guarded the prisoners, the rest of Scott's army pressed on and occupied Mexico City, an action which virtually ended the war. *Ibid.*, 2:147-64. Among the leaders of the assault on the Castle of Chapultepec was Capt. Benjamin Stone Roberts of Fort Madison. A member of the Mounted Rifle Regiment, Capt. Roberts became Iowa's best-known Mexican War hero, for to him was given the honor, on September 14, 1847, of raising the American flag over the National Palace in Mexico City. Ruth A. Gallaher, "Benjamin Stone Roberts," *The Palimpsest*, 1:78-9 (September, 1920).

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

IOWA POLITICAL SKETCHES

By *David Brant*

[In 1917 David Brant, editor of the *Iowa City Republican*, was sixty-seven years old. He had had a long career as editor of several Iowa newspapers, had served one term in the Iowa legislature, and had known intimately most of the leading politicians of the state. Many urged him to write a political history of Iowa, but since he did not feel equal to that task, he began the publication of a series of sketches of some of the outstanding political events of the past to which he had been a witness. These articles continued intermittently during 1917 and 1918 and are a source of much firsthand material on the political maneuvering and intriguing during the late nineteenth century. David Brant died in 1919. His sketches were reprinted in 1926 in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, a paper he had edited before going to the *Iowa City Republican*. The following sketch tells of the squabble over the fourth election of William Boyd Allison to the United States Senate. Since Brant was an observer at the legislative session which elected Allison, his article gives a personal account of the event. It first appeared in the July 19, 1917, issue of the *Iowa City Republican*, and was later reprinted in the *Cedar Rapids Republican* for March 7, 1926. As space permits, more of Brant's articles will be published in the JOURNAL. David Brant was the father of the modern biographer, Irving Brant, who has written several volumes on James Madison. — EDITOR.]

TWO VOTES SAVED ALLISON

"May God strike me dumb if in answering roll call I ever cast my vote for William B. Allison for United States senator." Such, in substance, were the words of Senator George L. Finn of Taylor county, written after the election of 1889 to Senator Bayliss of Clayton county, a democrat. I saw the letter during the session of the legislature that followed. In it Senator Finn declared that it would be a public calamity to re-elect Senator Allison. He referred to the great wealth the senator was supposed to have accumulated, his connection with corporations, his failure to secure free coinage of silver and his absenteeism from the state.

In the election of 1889, Horace Boies had defeated Senator [Joseph] Hutchinson for governor, and the legislature was so close politically, that

the house was a tie and the republicans had but two majority in the senate. In the legislature there were two members elected as Union Labor party candidates, Senator Perry Engle of Jasper and Matt Ewart of Poweshiek. Both had had the support of the democratic party. In addition four had been elected as independents. But all had been elected in opposition to the republican candidates, and none of them could be counted upon to vote for Senator Allison.

A year prior to this an estrangement had taken place between Senator Allison and Governor Larrabee, which had an important bearing upon the senatorial election. It will be recalled that President Harrison had tendered the position of secretary of the treasury to Senator Allison, which finally was declined. Newspaper correspondents in Washington asserted that one of the reasons for the declination was what was termed the uncertainty of the political situation in Iowa, especially relating to the appointment of Senator Allison's successor which would have been in the hands of Governor Larrabee. This may have been gossip, but it was never denied by Senator Allison, and as a number of his closest friends were not cordial with the governor, the latter assumed it was the feeling of the senator.

In his sixteen years service as state senator Governor Larrabee had always been a strong supporter of Senator Allison. He had always been a warm friend of Col. D. B. Henderson, later speaker of the house. It was understood at the time that Senator Allison would have been pleased, had he retired, to have had Col. Henderson appointed to the senate. In a conversation at the time with Gov. Larrabee, he told me that Senator Allison and his friends had no reason to doubt whom he would appoint, and that at the time Senator Allison was hesitating about accepting the cabinet position, he had his own mind made up as to whom he would appoint. The man was Col. Henderson.

Gov. Larrabee had been active in securing the passage of the Iowa railway laws adopted by the Twenty-second General Assembly, and this made him many friends, who were anxious to see him in the United States Senate. Those who had undertaken to secure the defeat of Senator Allison, naturally turned to Governor Larrabee as the available man.

At the time of the election in 1889 I was editor of the *Walker News*, in Linn county, and had cordial personal, but not political, relations with Fred Faulkes, the erratic, but irrepressible, editor of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*. Soon after the election Mr. Faulkes opened a hard fight upon Senator Alli-

son, and he assumed that with the defection of two republicans, which would defeat Senator Allison, there was no question as to the outcome. Mr. Faulkes sent for me, and calling upon him I learned that he wanted me to go to Des Moines and represent the *Gazette* during the legislative session. He showed me letters from Senator Finn, in which he said that he had the positive pledges of three members of the house never to vote for Senator Allison. Finn was for Governor Larrabee himself, and in his opinion, there was no question of three other republicans and all the democrats and independents voting for him. In addition, Mr. Faulkes had letters from many republicans expressing opposition to Senator Allison and favoring the governor. As these letters were personal to Mr. Faulkes, I do not feel at liberty to disclose their authors. I suggested to Mr. Faulkes that men who were opposing Senator Allison only under strict secrecy, would not be very effective. Those familiar with the ways of politics are not surprised when . . . most of these men turned up at Des Moines . . . as Allison supporters.

For a couple of years Allison had been under the fire of General [James B.] Weaver and other extremists, who charged that he was the enemy of the people and the supporter of monopolies and corporations. In a preceding campaign, General Weaver had trailed the leading republican speakers and would follow them with a meeting at each place visited. I heard him at a big rally at Independence, where in the afternoon Col. Henderson, Frank D. Jackson and Buren R. Sherman, former governor, were the speakers. The moment the meeting closed, General Weaver announced that he would answer the speakers at the same place that evening. Somebody asked him if he intended to appropriate the platform and seats placed in the park by the republicans. General Weaver said that the park was a public place and that if the platform and seats were there they might be used. The republicans finally tendered General Weaver the use of the platform and seats.

In his speech that evening, General Weaver reviewed the public service of Senator Allison, charging him with being an enemy of silver coinage, the supporter of corporations, in direct connection with railways as director in two companies, and declared that on a salary, then only \$3,500, he had amassed a great fortune. The impression made by General Weaver was such that Col. Hepburn was called to Independence to make reply. The result was that any city in Iowa having a big rally, was assured a speech from General Weaver and another one later from Col. [William Peters] Hepburn. My recollection is that this occurred in 1888.

After hearing all the speaking at all three meetings at Independence, I was impressed with the feeling that General Weaver had the best of the round. His charges were not answered. Praise for Allison, a recounting of his public services and other generalities left a bad impression. The people wanted to know about that great wealth said to have been amassed and his connections with the corporations. More will be said about these matters later.

When the legislature convened in January, 1900 [sic. 1890] Horace Boies was ready to be inaugurated, but the house was fifty and fifty and nothing could be done until it was organized, which was not until the last days of February, and the vote on senator was not taken until March 4.

When starting for Des Moines I carried the assurance of Mr. Faulkes that I would find in Senator Finn a man of courage, devotion and honesty. I also carried a letter of introduction to the Taylor county senator which gave the assurance from Mr. Faulkes that I was reliable and would not "leak" confidences, etc. I had read of Finn who had been active in railway legislation at two previous sessions, but I had never met him. I was not impressed favorably and I soon learned that many members of the legislature were not fully convinced of his staying qualities, to speak mildly.

I soon learned that the three members of the house claimed to be pledged to vote against Allison and for some other republican, were Paschall of Taylor, Ball of Jefferson and Shipley of Guthrie. The last named was undoubtedly involved in the conspiracy, but I know of nothing but report relative to Ball and Paschall. But there is no question that the republican leaders were fearful of the results and kept close watch of the situation. As the opposition to Allison centered around issues in which the farmers were deeply interested, the republicans called in Tama Jim Wilson to manage the Allison campaign, and later the senator himself came and spent a couple of weeks in Des Moines.

One of the early letters I sent out on the political situation, reviewed the grounds of opposition to Allison, mention naturally being made of his alleged wealth and his official relations to corporations. This reached the eyes of the senator and he sent for me to call at his room. I was received most cordially and Allison assured me that he had no doubt of my honesty, etc., but he wanted to assure me that I was far from the facts. He then went on to say that he wanted to tell me for my own information about his property and his corporation connections. In the frankest possible manner

he itemized his personal holdings with as much care as though I had been the assessor. He said that he had a home in Washington, the old Senator Grimes home, inherited from Senator Grimes by his, Allison's first wife, who was the daughter of Senator Grimes. [sic. Actually, Allison's wife was Mrs. Grimes's niece, who had been adopted by Senator Grimes. Also, she was Allison's second, not his first, wife.] He then turned to Dubuque where he said all his other property was located. He said that he had his home there, worth I think he said, about \$7,500, and some business property. Also a small amount of bank stock. He said about the time he entered the senate he signed notes with a friend, who later failed in business and he had to assume the notes. To secure him his friend deeded him some business properties, encumbered by mortgages, Allison said; that for many years he had to save from his salary to help pay interest and taxes and pay something each year on the notes, as the rental income was not large. But later, as Dubuque developed, these properties increased in value and at the time of this conversation, they were bringing him in considerable net income, but even then the last of those indorsed notes had not been paid.

"There," said the senator, "is all there is to my great wealth."

"Now," said the senator, "I will tell you about my railway connections. Several years ago J. P. Farley was trying to promote a railway west from Dubuque. He asked me to take a little stock and to accept a place on the board of directors. I invested a hundred dollars. It was a purely local organization, backed by Dubuque men, such as were common in those days." The senator then told of another instance where he acted in a similar capacity with his fellow Dubuque citizens, the details of which I have forgotten but the road was never built.

The senator then discussed the charges that he had absented himself from the state and was not loyal to his own people. He seemed to feel this insinuation more deeply than the other charges. He admitted that possibly he had been negligent, but he said that he had once been charged with attempting to manipulate the affairs of the party, which he did not want to do. He said that calls of the national and state committees to speak in close states, accounted for his short time in recent Iowa campaigns.

I told the senator that I had assumed these charges to be true in a measure, because there had never been any denial, and suggested that his statement ought to be made public. At first he objected, saying that he did not like to have his private affairs brought to public attention, but finally he

consented, and I sent out to my papers his answer to the charges made by General Weaver and others, and which many had assumed were true. I have no doubt but General Weaver had been misled, as such charges against Allison and other public men were common in certain eastern publications at that time. That was a time when many men were in the United States senate on account of their wealth rather than on account of ability or fitness. Allison's name had appeared in the list of senatorial millionaires.

These things all have close relations with what happened or did not happen that winter in Des Moines. They showed the grounds upon which many members of the legislature based opposition to the senator and who were ready, if opportunity presented itself, to vote for some other person than Allison, provided it did not imperil their own standing as republicans.

During the days following the opening of the legislature numerous conferences were held to organize the Allison opposition. They all to a greater or less extent, centered around the possibility of electing Governor Larrabee. It was assumed that all the democrats and independents would vote for the governor, provided at least two republicans would do the same. Senator Finn kept up a stiff front and at all times declared he had the votes, four of them, three besides himself. For a couple of weeks everything went smoothly, but about that time there appeared in Des Moines some democrats who were disposed to throw a monkey wrench into the opposition machine. The first to appear was Alexander Charles, a prominent democrat from Cedar Rapids. Then came George Paul, former member of the house from Johnson county. He had been instrumental in breaking the deadlock in the grange session of the house [1874], which elected John H. Gear for speaker, bringing into notice one of the most successful politicians the state has ever known. To these two was added later Gil Johnson from Jackson county. They had not been there long until there began to be heard opposition from democrats. They could not see why they should be used to pull somebody's chestnuts from the hot ashes. The first definite break that came was when Senator W. O. Schmidt and the two members of the house from Scott county declared that under no circumstances would they vote for Governor Larrabee. As Finn had pledged but four votes and here was a defection of three democrats, he was forced to take another turn.

Following this development, I received a telegram from Mr. Faulkes, to see Judge J. H. Rothrock of the supreme court, and ascertain if he would accept the election as senator. I conferred with the judge, who at first said

that if he should be elected without making any effort or being a candidate, he would accept. Judge Rothrock appeared to be acceptable to the opposition to Allison, but a few days later, he informed a legislative committee, that he would not accept an election and that his name must not be used.

Things then quieted down, and it looked as though the opponents of Allison had given up the contest, but a new man was suggested. He was A. B. Cummins, now senior senator from Iowa. The democrats accepted this movement with some signs of enthusiasm and it looked as though it might be successful. I never knew the inside of this movement or just who started it, my first information relative to it coming from Col. H. Gatch, senator from Polk county. He said that some of his Des Moines friends were bringing much pressure to bear upon him to support Cummins on account of the prominence it would give Des Moines to have one of the senators. The Cummins boom lasted but a short time. Finn was on hand with his four votes but again three democrats came to the rescue of Allison. They were Senator Shields and the two members of the house from Dubuque. They announced that if it was to become a question of municipal pride, Dubuque had as much of that quality as had the city of Des Moines, therefore they had decided they would vote for no republican other than Senator Allison. If the republican defection would vote for a democrat, they would vote for a democrat, but if it was to be a republican, it would be Allison so far as the Dubuque delegation was concerned.

At this point, Senator Finn apparently gave up the fight. It would be necessary for him to secure five republican bolters to overcome the Dubuque opposition, and the five he could not secure.

About this time there was evidence that somebody was traveling over the state working up a movement to enlist the farmers against Senator Allison. F. W. Meyer, of Ida county, a leader in the Farmers Alliance, came to Des Moines to oppose the senator. Letters began to come in from farmers expressing opposition, but they all were of one tenor, indicating that one person had inspired them. Then flowed in resolutions from the alliances, reciting the General Weaver charges, and asking members of the legislature to vote for Governor Larrabee. The Farmers Alliance had been an effective agent under the direction of N. B. Ashby, son-in-law of Henry Wallace, then editor of the *Homestead*, in the election of Horace Boies, with many members in the state.

Just what connection those interests had in the next move to defeat Sen-

ator Allison, I do not know, but events indicated they were on the ground floor, as it was while Mr. Meyer was in the city that the last effort culminated.

I received the first intimation of this movement from Governor Larrabee. He said that a number of republicans had asked him to enter the republican caucus, and that in event of his defeat, they would bolt the caucus on roll call and vote for him. The governor's answer was that if he went into a caucus, he must abide by its decision, as he was a republican, and was governor by virtue of the republican party.

The next proposal was that they would not enter the republican caucus but would vote for the governor. They would not ask co-operation of the democrats. This would result in a deadlock.

A few days after this plan was organized, a conference of the dissenting republicans was held at the state house. Governor Larrabee was in his office and received their proposals. One of the bolters claimed they had about thirty present, but the number was much less, possibly fifteen. After their plan had been submitted to Governor Larrabee, I saw him in his office, and we walked down the street a half a block to his home. He related what had been submitted to him and asked, "what do you think of it?"

I replied that the only result would be the defeat of both him and Senator Allison. If such a contest was developed, party interests would prevail and in the interest of harmony, somebody other than either of them would be elected.

He said something like this, "I would be their cat's paw. They want to beat Allison. Several of them are against him because they or their friends have been disappointed about appointments. I am to give them my answer in the morning. It will be that I will have nothing to do with the senatorship. I will not permit the use of my name in any way."

That ended the fight on Senator Allison. On the fourth day of March he was elected senator for the fourth time. In the senate when the vote was taken, Senator Finn made a long speech, recounting the magnificent services of the Iowa senator, and he cast his vote for Senator Allison, despite his call upon God to make him speechless. Reports were common about the state house that the Taylor county senator was retained at \$1,500, through Ed Knott, United States marshal, to appear in behalf of the defendant, in the case of Finn et al vs William B. Allison. But that probably was a rumor.

On the ballot for senator, Allison received the vote of Dr. McDermid,

independent, from Adair county. The following voted for Larrabee, Senators Engle of Jasper and Barnett of Warren and Representatives Ewart of Poweshiek, Gates of Floyd, Craesser of Ida, Smith of Boone, Roe of Monona, Russell of Adams, all independents or labor union party men, except Russell of Adams, a democrat. The democrats voted for S. L. Bestow of Lucas. Senator Allison received four majority on joint ballot.

While there was some resentment among the republicans relative to the part played by Governor Larrabee, I know of nothing that transpired that was inconsistent as a party man, in fact he bore his party with dignity and honor. He would have appreciated a clean election to the United States senate, and who would not, but he was never ready to accept an election that would be in any way questionable.

The people of Iowa learned something new about Senator Allison. They learned that for several years he had borne with personal attacks without giving them the dignity of a denial, possibly a mistake, but when the people learned the facts, they loved the man more than ever. In fact it was in his later years that the people had real affection for their great senator.

Five years later many looked upon Senator Allison as the most available man for the republican nomination for the presidency by his party. When the discussion of his possibilities was becoming wide, during his speaking campaign in the fall of 1895, I made an appointment to meet him in Dubuque to secure material for a review of his public services. This first appeared in the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, and later in New York and other eastern papers. The senator expressed deep appreciation that the newspaper which once had fought him the hardest of any in Iowa, should be the first to make extended mention of his possible candidacy. When the party at St. Louis turned to William McKinley, it was because of no lack of appreciation of the fitness of the Iowa man. [Iowa City *Republican*, July 19, 1917.]

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

During January, February, and March, 197 new members joined the Society. Two became Life Members: Howard B. Holmes of Waterloo, and Mrs. Robert Richards of Muscatine.

A television series on Iowa history was inaugurated on February 5 at station WMT-TV in Cedar Rapids by Superintendent William J. Petersen and James Hackett of the television station staff. Three weekly programs, at 12:30 p. m. on Saturdays, were telecast, covering the earliest explorations of Iowa. The series will be resumed later, as openings occur in the station's schedule of commercial programs.

The Society sponsored an Amana tour for some sixty members of the Iowa Legislative Ladies League on April 5. The tour included a visit to the Amana museum, one of the old Amana houses which is being restored and furnished with original colony pieces. Three rooms of the house are now completed. In addition, the ladies visited the woolen mill, refrigerator plant, the meat market, and the cabinet shop. Dr. Henry Moerschel, president of the Amana colonies, spoke to the group at the church on the religious background of the colonies. This is the second tour of the Amanas by the Legislative Ladies League which has been sponsored by the Society and conducted by Superintendent William J. Petersen.

The Society has added to its microfilm library seventy-one rolls of film purchased from the National Archives. These rolls contain the manuscript population census returns for Iowa from 1840 through 1880.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- January 11 Attended Governor Leo Elthon's "State of the State" address at Des Moines.
- January 13 Attended Governor Leo Hoegh's inaugural.
- January 14 Addressed Wilson Company sales force at Cedar Rapids.
- February 9 Addressed No Name Club at Waterloo.

- February 22 Spoke at dinner given by Mr. and Mrs. Gregory Brunk for the appropriation committee of the Senate at the Des Moines Club.
- February 23 Spoke at dinner given by Mr. and Mrs. Gregory Brunk for the appropriation committee of the House at the Des Moines Club.

Iowa Historical Activities

The famous Little Brown Church at Nashua will observe its centennial during the week of June 19-26, 1955. Other churches observing anniversaries are: Elkader Congregational Church, 100 years, March 13; Boals Methodist Church, Sioux City, 50 years, March 13; Grant Methodist Church, 100 years, March 19; First Baptist Church of Ottumwa, 100 years, week of March 14; First Presbyterian Church at Newton, March 10. At Clarinda the Presbyterian Church will be 100 years old this year, and Mrs. Lyle Cassat is writing a history of the church.

The Wright County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Goldfield, February 28, 1955, to discuss the part the Society will take in the celebration of Wright County's centennial, set for June 21 and 22. Raynard Richardson is president of the Society, C. W. Sankey is secretary-treasurer.

The Chickasaw County Historical Society is planning on a tour of the historic Villa Louis at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, for some time in May.

The Effigy Mounds National Monument has received a forty-acre tract of land adjoining the Monument area. The tract was presented to the National Parks Service by members of the Des Moines Founders Garden Club, an affiliate of the Garden Clubs of America, as an expression of their interest in conservation. Two Indian mounds are on the tract.

At the annual meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society, held at Corydon in January, the following officers were named: Amy Robertson, president; Mildred Fry, vice-president; Harold Bishop, secretary; Harry Hibbs, treasurer; and Roy Grimes, curator. Members of the board of curators of the Society are: Frank Coates, Warren Burton, Susie Booth, A. O. Hunter, and Grant Kelley.

A Marion County Historical Society has recently been organized at

Knoxville. The movement began with the establishment last year of a room in the rear of the Belknap Jewelry Store for use as an historical museum. People from all over the county sent in relics, and some 1,000 items are now on display. The Society was organized at a meeting on February 15, and the following officers elected: C. B. Campbell, president; W. C. Palmer, vice-president; Jack Belknap, treasurer; Mrs. M. L. Hausner, secretary. Members of the board of directors are: Charles Ream, H. W. Vriezelaar, Hubert Isenberg, Orville Sherwood, E. O. Osborn, Mrs. Eva Frost, Fred Mohler, Lillian Vance, and Duane Ruckman.

The thirty-third annual History Conference, sponsored by the history department, the extension division, the college of education, and the graduate college, was held at the State University of Iowa, March 25, 26, 1955. H. L. Beales, of the London School of Economics, spoke on "Civil Service Reform, 1853-1855: A Centenary Retrospect"; Charles L. Mowat of the University of Chicago read a paper on "The Transformation of British Society since 1900"; Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University, editor of the Jefferson papers, addressed the evening meeting on "A Modest Plea to the Historian in Behalf of the Historical Editor"; and Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University spoke on "Against This Torrent: Pressures on Education." A panel consisting of Samuel P. Hays of the State University of Iowa, Joseph Wall of Grinnell College, and Richard J. Brown of the University High School discussed Commager's paper.

Eugene N. Hastie is writing a history of the town of Perry in Dallas County. His articles are appearing in the *Perry Chief*, beginning with the issue of January 12, 1955.

Town and county centennials being observed in Iowa are as follows: Cincinnati in Appanoose County on March 7, 1955; Iowa Falls in June; Ringgold County, July 2-5; Chickasaw County, July 3-5; Steamboat Rock in Hardin County, some time during the summer; and Story County, July 3-4, 1955.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

A Century of Banking in Wisconsin. By Theodore A. Andersen. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954. \$4.00.) This book was awarded the David Clark Everest Prize in Wisconsin Economic History, and is the story of Wisconsin banking from pioneer times to the present. The author, an economist with the Ford Motor Company, has written a readable and informative book on what many might consider a dull subject. It is from such studies as this that the historian can build up the economic history of a region and of a nation.

American Heritage: The Magazine of History. (December, 1954.) The quarterly magazine, *American Heritage*, published under the sponsorship of the American Association for State and Local History, has been changed to a bi-monthly publication in book form. Bruce Catton is the editor, and the advisory board contains the names of many outstanding historians. The first book-form issue has a variety of illustrated articles on such subjects as steamboating, an 1862 congressional investigation of a Civil War general, country stores, club life, Henry Ford, the burning of the Capitol during the War of 1812, and a condensation of Paul Horgan's book on the Rio Grande. Subscriptions to the new *American Heritage* are \$10.00 per year for six book-issues, published at 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

The Journals of Lewis and Clark. Edited by Bernard De Voto. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953. \$6.50.) As the editor explains in his introduction to this volume, the condensation of the famous Lewis and Clark Journals was made not for the scholar but for the general reader. Mr. De Voto has culled from the voluminous journals of these two explorers the highlights of their long journey from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean. In addition to end-paper maps of the entire journey, there are six maps showing smaller sections of the journey, which will enable the reader to follow the story as it unfolds.

History of Nebraska. By James C. Olson. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1955. \$5.00.) James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebras-

ka State Historical Society, has written a well-balanced history of his state. The author's clear, concise style and his wide and deep knowledge of Nebraska history and Nebraska personalities makes this book both readable and valuable. The economic and political structure of the state is woven into the story in great detail and with telling effect. Agriculture, the leading industry of Nebraska, receives much attention, as it should. The towering political figures of Bryan, Morton, and Norris color the political story, but other state leaders are not neglected. Pictorially, the book is well illustrated, and the line drawings of Franz Altschuler add much to its attractiveness. "Suggested Readings" at the end of each chapter will be helpful to readers interested in expanding their knowledge of Nebraska.

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	*RALPH A. OLIVER, <i>Sioux City</i>
	**W. A. SMITH, <i>Dubuque</i>
*Member of the State Historical Society	*G. K. THOMPSON, <i>Cedar Rapids</i>
**Life Member of the State Historical Society	CHARLES F. WENNERSTRUM, Chariton

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*Superintendent
and Editor*

*Associate
Editor*

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COVER

"Plum Grove," the Robert Lucas Home in Iowa City. This home of Iowa's first territorial governor has been preserved by the Iowa Conservation Commission. It was the site of the 1955 biennial business meeting of the members of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA 1953-1955

By *William J. Petersen**

The State Historical Society of Iowa continued to make solid progress during the biennium 1953-1955. It has shown a net membership increase of 448 for the biennium. Its publication program has continued on the traditionally high plane that has become a target at which other societies aim. From a small experimental beginning seven years ago, its historical tours have grown in popularity and continue to attract national attention. Moreover, these tours have been expanded to include two boat trips on the Missouri with the United States Army Engineers to commemorate the Lewis and Clark expedition; joint sponsorship with the Iowa Chapter of the National Railway Historical Society in the Tama-Alden excursion; and the chartering of the steamboat *Addie Mae* for three excursions in the historic Keokuk-Nauvoo area.

This broad, constructive program has won for the Society the warm support of the General Assembly, which demonstrated its faith in our past work and confidence in our future performance by generously appropriating \$200,000 toward the construction of a new State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building. In addition, the General Assembly granted the Society a modest increase in its regular appropriation. No biennium in its past history has been marked by action of such far-reaching promise. As we enter the last two years of our century of service to the state of Iowa, our future seems bright indeed.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH

In my last report I indicated that the membership of the Society had increased from 60, at the time the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS was established in 1903, to 978 when *The Palimpsest* was founded in 1920. By 1940 the membership had risen to 1,560. During the next seven years the membership declined to 1,121; of these, 683 were active members and 438 were life members. At that time the historical societies of the five states

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of the Upper Mississippi Valley ranked as follows in active and life membership: Missouri — 4,312; Wisconsin — 2,343; Illinois — 1,682; Minnesota — 1,674; Iowa — 1,121.

In 1947 one-third of our Iowa counties had two or less members — and six counties actually had no members. Your Superintendent and Board of Curators determined at that time that the Society should endeavor to build up a more evenly distributed membership. The compilation on page 195 reveals the growth our Society has enjoyed over the past four bienniums.

Our membership of 4,900 in 1955 still places us second in the United States in total membership. It also represents the greatest membership increase of any Society in the United States over the past eight years. Only Missouri, with 6,800 members, eclipses the Hawkeye State.

During the past eight years our Society registered gains in active as well as life membership. The following figures should be gratifying to all who are interested in a broader dissemination of Iowa history.

Iowa's Increase in Active and Life Members

	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955
Active Members	683	1,749	3,095	3,776	4,197
Life Members	438	545	614	676	703
Total Members	1,121	2,294	3,709	4,452	4,900
Net Gain .....	....	1,173	1,415	743	448
Total Membership,					
30 lowest counties.....	80	146	306	288	328
Average Membership,					
30 lowest counties.....	2.6	4.9	10.2	9.6	10.7

Two years ago we set our 1955 goal at 4,700 members; we have actually exceeded this goal by 200, our membership now standing at 4,900. If our members will only continue their warm support of our program, we should continue to register substantial gains.

Past Membership

	Active	Life	Total
1947.....	683	438	1,121
1949.....	1,749	545	2,294
1951.....	3,095	614	3,709
1953.....	3,776	676	4,452
1955.....	4,197	703	4,900

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Membership Growth by County, 1947-1955

County	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	County	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955
Polk	127	186	315	420	426	Jackson	4	5	22	28	25
Johnson	123	202	285	328	323	Appanoose	8	12	39	25	25
Linn	81	101	204	271	288	Dickinson	6	32	28	22	24
Scott	90	152	197	226	272	Clay	2	16	21	23	24
Black Hawk ...	48	93	138	160	189	Grundy	8	21	30	27	24
Muscatine	8	22	71	75	93	Marion	9	9	14	15	23
Washington ...	18	30	64	75	88	Sac	3	7	11	11	23
Clinton	17	36	71	72	79	Sioux	2	9	15	19	21
Dubuque	25	46	71	75	78	Allamakee	8	10	16	18	20
Iowa	15	38	68	66	74	Palo Alto	4	9	17	19	19
Lee	20	43	58	65	72	Cherokee	4	12	16	19	19
Jasper	5	14	30	62	72	Wright	5	9	16	16	18
Cerro Gordo ...	15	20	57	76	72	Hancock	4	7	12	12	18
Wapello	14	44	60	67	69	O'Brien	5	18	18	18	18
Cedar	10	26	42	55	66	Buena Vista ...	0	6	16	14	17
Benton	13	23	52	65	62	Calhoun	4	7	12	16	17
Des Moines	19	36	56	61	62	Harrison	2	2	7	18	17
Marshall	14	18	33	35	59	Van Buren	2	9	14	18	17
Story	12	20	45	55	59	Pocahontas	8	9	25	19	17
Webster	5	31	39	43	55	Shelby	4	5	12	11	16
Hamilton	7	12	30	38	47	Winnebago	0	4	7	13	16
Butler	4	6	18	18	43	Winneshiek	5	7	14	14	16
Woodbury	14	21	30	36	42	Hardin	4	8	15	20	16
Buchanan	7	13	27	31	42	Franklin	4	7	10	9	15
Jefferson	12	23	30	30	42	Monona	5	5	9	13	15
Pottawattamie .	16	23	46	49	41	Monroe	2	5	10	9	14
Keokuk	12	17	35	40	41	Crawford	4	6	12	12	14
Fayette	6	9	25	28	40	Worth	2	2	8	13	14
Kossuth	4	24	29	37	40	Union	2	6	14	14	14
Clayton	5	10	29	48	40	Fremont	2	12	11	8	13
Jones	8	17	23	28	39	Madison	0	5	13	9	13
Henry	9	11	23	26	39	Guthrie	5	7	9	9	12
Louisa	8	24	25	46	38	Howard	1	1	8	8	11
Delaware	1	15	19	29	37	Emmet	1	11	11	10	11
Montgomery ...	8	18	28	25	37	Taylor	3	6	15	13	11
Poweshiek	6	11	25	39	36	Lyon	1	11	14	14	11
Page	6	13	31	33	35	Adair	0	4	10	11	10
Bremer	7	10	21	22	35	Osceola	1	9	16	17	10
Tama	3	15	40	44	33	Mitchell	4	6	4	5	8
Boone	3	18	25	28	29	Decatur	0	9	9	6	8
Mills	5	9	18	21	29	Lucas	3	4	9	9	8
Warren	3	4	11	13	29	Plymouth	4	10	8	10	8
Chickasaw	2	4	6	7	29	Ringgold	2	5	9	11	8
Humboldt	2	9	19	27	28	Audubon	0	9	10	8	7
Carroll	5	15	23	25	28	Clarke	1	10	9	9	7
Dallas	9	16	19	22	28	Davis	2	2	6	5	6
Greene	4	11	22	20	28	Ida	5	5	7	7	6
Floyd	1	7	11	22	26	Adams	3	5	6	8	6
Cass	8	30	34	33	26	Wayne	4	6	4	5	3
Mahaska	8	14	45	30	25						

Future Goals

1957.....	4,500	725	5,225
1959.....	5,000	750	5,750
1961.....	5,250	800	6,050

There is plenty of opportunity for membership growth, particularly in the weaker counties in the state. Actually 66 of our 99 counties gained in membership, while five others remained the same. The following counties made the best gains during the biennium:

Scott	46	Jefferson	12	Marion	8
Black Hawk	29	Montgomery	12	Mills	8
Butler	25	Sac	12	Clinton	7
Marshall	24	Webster	12	Lee	7
Chickasaw	22	Buchanan	11	Dallas	6
Muscatine	18	Cedar	11	Franklin	6
Linn	17	Jones	11	Hancock	6
Warren	16	Jasper	10	Woodbury	6
Bremer	13	Hamilton	9	Fremont	5
Henry	13	Delaware	8	Monroe	5
Washington	13	Greene	8	Shelby	5
Fayette	12	Iowa	8		

The gains registered by the 35 counties listed above total 443, or 5 less than the total net gain registered by the Society during the past biennium. They deserve a special salute from the membership at large.

Despite the over-all net gain, one must regret the fact that 28 counties declined in membership, even though 18 of the 28 sustained losses of three or less. Since it is important for our members to watch these trends and endeavor to correct them, the counties are listed herewith, with the number lost at the head of each group.

<i>1 loss</i>	<i>2 losses</i>	<i>3 losses</i>	<i>4 losses</i>
Adair	Adams	Benton	Cerro Gordo
Audubon	Clarke	Grundy	Hardin
Harrison	Plymouth	Jackson	
Ida	Pocahontas	Lyon	
Lucas	Taylor	Poweshiek	
Van Buren	Wayne	Ringgold	
<i>5 losses</i>	<i>7 losses</i>	<i>8 losses</i>	<i>11 losses</i>
Johnson	Cass	Clayton	Tama
Mahaska	Osceola	Louisa	
		Pottawattamie	

It would be a real challenge to our members if every one of these 28 counties could report a gain in membership at the time of our Centennial in 1957, with each county actually attaining the highest membership in its history at that time. The total loss registered in these 28 counties is only 103, a figure that is offset by the 100 gained by Scott, Black Hawk, and Butler counties alone.

Truly, this is no insuperable task. The exciting gains registered by Butler and Chickasaw can be repeated in any county. The morning following my commencement talk at Parkersburg (Butler County) I secured a list of prospective members, contacted eight of them, and was rewarded with eight new members. A couple of hours' work on the part of any of our members would yield a similar harvest.

A Chickasaw County gain was registered when several human dynamos agreed to secure ten new members for the Society if your Superintendent would come up and speak to them on the occasion of the Centennial celebration sponsored by the newly-formed Chickasaw County Historical Society. These enthusiastic members actually secured 22 new members. Your Superintendent stands ready to make a speech before any historical group on the same terms, and he hopes the results will be equally fruitful.

School Institutional Members

I am particularly happy over the tenfold increase in school institutional memberships. Some counties are represented with nearly 100 per cent school institutional members. Virtually every large school system in Iowa has taken out an institutional membership for its high schools and junior high schools. Des Moines, for example, has seventeen institutional memberships. This means that in the years ahead the libraries in the Des Moines school system will build up a valuable collection of Iowa history material for teachers and students alike. One of the best things our members can do is to see that their local schools are identified with the Society.

It is also gratifying to record the large number of state legislators among our most enthusiastic and loyal members. Forty-five of the 50 Senators in the 56th General Assembly are members and 80 of the 108 Representatives. All eight Congressmen are members, both United States Senators, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and numerous other state officials.

PUBLICATIONS

During the past two years *The Palimpsest* and the IOWA JOURNAL OF

HISTORY have appeared regularly. We print 6,000 copies of our monthly magazine regularly, but frequent heavy demands for extra copies of special issues make our total printing of *The Palimpsest* run well over 100,000 copies annually. Thus, almost 40,000 copies were printed of the Catholic, Episcopalian, and Lutheran issues, the latter being responsible for half of the total. Our monthly continues to be geared to popular demand, schools and study clubs finding it particularly valuable. Letters from Iowa teachers constantly attest the value of *The Palimpsest* to them in their work. Mrs. Mildred Ellefson, an Iowa teacher who resides in Thompson, recently wrote me: "I find many uses in my teaching for the material I receive from the Society by being a member."

The wide variety of subjects treated is indicated by the following:

The Palimpsest

1953	Title	Author
July	Iowa in 1952	Robert Rutland
Aug.	The Roman Catholic Church in Iowa	M. M. Hoffman
Sept.	College Football in Iowa	Robert Rutland
Oct.	The Episcopal Church in Iowa	M. F. Carpenter
Nov.	Naval Namesakes of Iowa Cities	William J. Petersen
Dec.	Times Have Changed	Harriet Connor Brown
1954	Title	Author
Jan.	The 55th General Assembly of Iowa	Frank T. Nye
Feb.	Town and City in Iowa Fiction	John T. Frederick
March	Boys' Basketball in Iowa	Harry G. Burrell and William J. Petersen
April	Tulip Festivals in Iowa	George Ver Steeg, James Treneman, and William J. Petersen
May	Interurbans in Iowa	Frank P. Donovan, Jr.
June	Some Iowa Lutheran Centennials	Albert A. Jagnow, Gerhard Ottersberg, and Mary Qualley
July	The Iowa State Fair	Earle D. Ross and William J. Petersen
Aug.	Iowa in 1953	Robert Rutland
Sept.	The Lewis and Clark Expedition	William J. Petersen
Oct.	Iowa Rhodes Scholars	Virgil M. Hancher, Jacob Van der Zee, and Rhodes Dunlap

Nov.	Iowa State Education Association	William J. Petersen and Irving H. Hart
Dec.	An Early Grave Snatching Incident Sioux City and the Frontier	Vernon Carstensen C. A. Reed
1955	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
Jan.	The Good Roads Movement in Iowa	George S. May
Feb.	The Burlington <i>Hawk-Eye Gazette</i> , 1837-1955	Robert Rutland
March	From Germany to Iowa in 1853	William J. Petersen and Charlotte von Hein
April	Major League Baseball Players from Iowa	George S. May
May	The Zebulon M. Pike Expedition	William J. Petersen
June	<i>The Palimpsest</i> : 1920-1955	Benjamin F. Shambaugh, John C. Parish, John E. Briggs, and William J. Petersen

Iowa Journal of History

During the same period our quarterly magazine has stood at the forefront among the documented publications issued by state historical societies. It has published a wide variety of scholarly, yet readable articles that have attracted widespread interest among our membership as well as among professional historians. The following monographs and documents have appeared during the biennium:

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>
July, 1953	"The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1951-1953"	William J. Petersen
	"The Mississippi & Missouri Rail- road, 1856-1860"	Dwight L. Agnew
October 1953	"Iowans and the Fourteenth Amend- ment"	Robert Rutland
January, 1954	"The Copperheads of Iowa: A Re-examination"	Robert Rutland
	"C. C. Carpenter in the 1858 Iowa Legislature"	Mildred Throne
April, 1954	"William B. Allison and Iowa Sena- torial Politics, 1865-1870"	Leland L. Sage
	"The Powers of the Governor of Iowa"	Russell M. Ross

July, 1954	"The Domestic Finances of Secretary of War W. W. Belknap"	Philip D. Jordan
	"The Rock Island Railroad in Iowa"	Dwight L. Agnew
October, 1954	"The Anti-Monopoly Party in Iowa, 1873-1874"	Mildred Throne
	"Pioneer Experiences in Keokuk County, 1858-1874"	Edith H. Hurlbutt
January, 1955	"The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1850-1860"	David S. Sparks
	"The Iowa General Assembly: Composition and Powers"	Russell M. Ross
April, 1955	"Steamboating on the Missouri River"	William J. Petersen
	"The Liberal Republican Party in Iowa, 1872"	Mildred Throne
	"Stephen A. Douglas Speaks in Iowa City, 1860"	Charles A. Thodt
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Editor</i>
July, 1953	"The Civil War Letters of Samuel Mahon, Seventh Iowa Infantry"	John K. Mahon
October, 1953	"School Days in Coin, Iowa, 1880-1885 — Catherine Wiggins Porter"	Kenneth W. Porter
July, 1954	"Letters from Shiloh"	Mildred Throne
January, 1955	"A Commissary in the Union Army: Letters of C. C. Carpenter"	Mildred Throne
April, 1955	"An Iowan in the Mexican War"	George S. May
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Source Material</i>	
July, 1953	"The Steamboat <i>Charles Rogers</i> "	
January, 1954	"An Iowa Woman in Washington, D. C., 1861-1865"	
April, 1954	"An Iowa Political Reporter, 1864"	
October, 1954	"Reminiscences of Early Iowa"	
April, 1955	"Iowa Political Sketches by David Brant"	
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Articles</i>	<i>Compiler</i>
July, 1953	"Iowans in Congress, 1847-1953"	Mildred Throne
April, 1954	"National Party Convention Sites, 1832-1952"	Robert Rutland
July, 1954	"They Saw the Early Midwest: A Bibliography of Travel Narratives, 1727-1850"	Robert R. Hubach

Two Books Issued During Biennium

During the biennium two outstanding books were published by the Society. Melvin Scholl's *Arnewood: The Story of an Iowa Dairyman* is an unusually readable book that has won praise from members of the Society and received fine reviews in newspapers, magazines, and professional journals. The warm human story that pervades *Arnewood* is buttressed by a keen professional knowledge which Scholl gained with his own Arnewood herd and as herdsman for the famous Maytag dairy herds. Listen to some of the comments. *The Cowculator*, a monthly published in the interest of American Dairy Herd Improvement, declared: "Better than most, Mr. Scholl paints a picture of the cares, fears, anxieties and lack of sleep as well as the happiness and satisfaction of milking great cows to great records." In *The Rotarian* John T. Frederick wrote: "Unpretentious, warmly human, accurate in detail, and constructive in spirit, this is a book of distinct value."

A second volume, Edward Younger's *John A. Kasson*, appeared as the biennium drew to a close. This intensely interesting biography of a man who was identified with Iowa and national politics from 1857 until his death in 1910 is destined to take its place as one of the best in the long series of biographies issued by the Society over the past half century. Much of the story centers around Des Moines and Iowa politics, but Kasson also played an important role in representing the United States at various foreign chancellories. This volume will be followed by other important books, the next of which will be Leland Sage's *William Boyd Allison*.

In addition to the above, the Society has issued regularly its *News for Members* which aims to alert members to the activities of the Society. *News for Members* has been responsible for bringing many valuable manuscripts and books into our possession. It is equally significant in chronicling the development of the Society. Our history will be easier to record since *News for Members* first appeared in 1947.

Another publication, *Iowa History News Flashes*, goes out to 550 newspaper editors, providing them with feature articles and fillers for their papers. It helps bring Iowa history down to the very grass roots.

THE LIBRARY

During the biennium our library acquired 1,255 books in addition to numerous maps, pamphlets, pictures, and manuscripts. Most of these latter have come to us as gifts of the donors.

We still need more city directories, county histories, county plat books and atlases, college and high school annuals. Every effort should be made by members to see that material of this kind is not destroyed but is turned over to the Society's library. Two years ago we listed in our Biennial Report all the counties not represented in our county plat book and atlas collection, as well as those represented, with the date of issue of each volume. As a result we have increased our holdings and filled in gaps so that every county is now represented by at least one such book. Of course, to get a well-balanced collection, we will want plat books covering every generation, or approximately four for each county during the space of a century. This means there are a lot of copies to collect and we must rely on members for help.

Postcards

Since we have pictorialized *The Palimpsest* the need for good pictures becomes a pressing problem. One good source would be postcards, both current ones and those you will find stowed away in your bookcases, desks, cupboards, attics, etc. Photos of Main Street, courthouses, libraries, churches, schools, fraternal buildings, manufacturing plants, garages, livery stables, railroad stations, post offices, parks, and golf courses should be sent to us for future use as we prepare articles on various subjects. The black and white pictures are the best for reproduction, but the colored ones will do, if nothing else is available.

In addition to commercial photos the Society would benefit if members sent in more personal photos, both current and old time pictures. For old time pictures the following are suggested.

<i>Outdoor Scenes</i>	<i>Indoor Scenes</i>	<i>Holidays</i>
Picnics (church & school)	Church suppers	New Year's
Baseball	PTA meetings	Easter
Football	General stores	Arbor Day
Chautauqua	Blacksmith shops	Memorial Day
Fire departments	Drug stores	Flag Day
Circus	School programs	Fourth of July
Carnivals	Ice cream parlors	Labor Day
County fairs	Barber shops	Armistice
Boat regattas	Photo salons	Thanksgiving
Plowing matches	Groceries	Christmas
Husking contests	Meat markets	

HISTORICAL TOURS

Steamboat Excursions Continue to be Popular

The steamboat excursions inaugurated with Commodore O. D. Collis aboard the *Rob Roy III* continued to attract large numbers of members during the biennium, over seven hundred participating each year. The trips won national recognition — the *New York Times* devoting two glowing columns in its travel page to the trip and its All-Iowa Menu. The *Ford Times* for July, 1955, also featured the trip illustrated with eight colored paintings. A new feature was inaugurated by Mrs. William J. Petersen in 1954 when she added an "Iowa Cheese and Ice Cream Bar" to the afternoon snack. This was extremely popular with members and guests.

At the end of 1954 Commodore Collis had made his boat available to Society members for over forty trips during which time the *Rob Roy III* carried well over four thousand passengers. This generous gesture on "O. D.'s" part was an important factor in broadening the scope and in re-kindling interest in the Society's work throughout the state. The heavy drain on his vitality and time after seven years made it impossible for Commodore Collis (now seventy-eight years old) to continue to make the *Rob Roy III* available for future trips, but his generosity will never be forgotten by a long list of Society members who enjoyed his kind hospitality.

With the Army Engineers on the Missouri

To commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition, as well as to give the people on the Missouri slope an opportunity to enjoy a steamboat trip closer to their homes, your Superintendent contacted Brigadier General William E. Potter, Division Engineer, at Omaha, Nebraska, and arranged with him for Society members to board a barge towed by the *John Ordway* for a 57-mile inspection tour on June 4, 1954. Over one hundred members and guests from 41 different Iowa towns in 30 Iowa counties came to learn first hand about the Missouri, its history, its legends, and the problems the Big Muddy presented to the Army Engineers from the standpoint of flood control, irrigation, and navigation. Finally, they came to observe the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition and its relation to Iowa history. The inspection cruise, during which the *John Ordway* performed its routine work of hauling crushed stone, was covered by newspapers, television, and radio.

The Missouri cruise was an educational experience which delighted all who participated in it. Writing in the *Des Moines Register*, George Mills declared: "At the end of the day, everybody was gorged with history and fried chicken. . . . The travelers enjoyed the biggest recreation bargain of their lives." W. D. Archie wrote in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*: "The army engineers are doing a fine job, and backed by the soil control methods now being used on the tributaries, I think they will eventually tame the untamable Missouri. . . . It was a notable excursion and one to be remembered by all who partook of the many courtesies of the day." In the *Ogden Reporter* editor Carl Sexauer declared: "We enjoyed adding this wonderful trip to our list of memorable vacation outings." A Life Member of the Society from Shenandoah, Judge Frederick Fischer, wrote as follows: "No amount of traveling except traveling on the river itself, can provide information such as was afforded by this trip. Your talks to the group together with the talks by Army personnel about the river were very informative and made a lasting impression. Everyone on this trip is very much indebted to you and Mrs. Petersen for a most pleasant experience of the day and the fine food."

Fortunately for the Society a similar Missouri trip was arranged for June 24, 1955, just three days before the Biennial Meeting of the Society. This time the *Patrick Gass* towed our barge upstream from Nebraska City to Plattsmouth with Colonel T. J. Hayes and civilian engineer Elmer Toman providing information on the work by the Army Engineers. The historical background was discussed by your Superintendent, who called attention of members to the April, 1955, issue of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY containing his article on "Steamboating on the Missouri River." The trip received excellent newspaper, radio, and television coverage. All who participated (and members came from distant Keokuk, Rock Island, Renwick, and Spirit Lake) agreed the Missouri was a waterway well worth studying.

With the Addie Mae in the Half-Breed Tract

A special 1955 steamboat bonus was offered members in the form of a 4-hour round-trip cruise between Keokuk and Nauvoo aboard the *Addie Mae* on June 17, 18, and 19. Already requests for additional cruises have been so great that other excursions will be arranged by the Society aboard Captain H. Andressen's sternwheeler. This trip had special significance to Iowans for it marked the 150th anniversary of Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike's expedition to the Upper Mississippi in 1805. The May,

1955, issue of *The Palimpsest* was devoted to the Pike expedition, and some members came armed with their copies. The *Addie Mae* contained an excellent loud speaker that made it possible for all to hear the story of the Half-Breed Tract, Tesson's Spanish Land Grant, Indian villages, early military posts such as Fort Madison, Fort Edwards, and Fort Des Moines, the first white settlements in Iowa, the first school, the Mormon Trail of 1846, the building of the Des Moines Rapids Canal, and later the great Keokuk lock and dam. The relation of Zachary Taylor, Robert E. Lee, Francis Scott Key, Isaac Galland, and a host of other famous Iowans and Americans associated with the regions through which the *Addie Mae* passed was described during the course of the trip. Since both Pike and Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis in 1806 it is hoped the Society can arrange appropriate commemorative trips on both the Mississippi and the Missouri in 1956.

Railroad Excursion

An entirely different tour co-sponsored by your Society in conjunction with the Iowa Chapter of the National Railway Historical Society was the railroad excursion on the North Western from Tama to Alden on June 19, 1955. Basil W. Koob of Fort Dodge was in charge. Probably one-third of the 478 who participated were members of the State Historical Society. A feature of the trip was the stop at Conrad to visit Paul Franzenburg's Wolf Creek Smokehouse. A steam engine was employed to pull the train over little-used tracks. It is an instance where the Society can cooperate with other groups in adding to our knowledge of Iowa.

We believe these tours have real value and should be encouraged wherever feasible. Especially should members participate in commemorative tours, such as those relating to the centennials of Amana, the Little Brown Church, the coming of the railroad to Burlington, and those relating to their own communities.

Legislative Ladies Tour Amana Colonies

For the second time in two years a tour of the Amana colonies was conducted by Superintendent and Mrs. William J. Petersen for some sixty members of the Iowa Legislative Ladies League, which is composed of the wives of present and former legislators and elected state officials. Upon their arrival at Amana in the morning, members of the League were entertained at a Kaffee Klatch at the Homestead Club House. Next they at-

tended the Homestead Church, where they were addressed by Dr. Henry Moershel, president of the Amana Colonies. The League women were the first guests to go through the new Amana House at Homestead, owned by William Leichsenring, proprietor of the Ox Yoke Inn, and opened in 1955 in observance of the centennial of the founding of the Amana Colonies.

Bus tours to points of interest in the colonies followed, including the meat market, cabinet shop, woolen mills, and Amana Freezer plant. The ladies were the luncheon guests of George Foerstner and Amana Refrigeration, Inc., at the Ox Yoke Inn. The group drove by the Amana cemetery, Amana Lake, the new Amana school, and on to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Hahn in Middle Amana where they saw the only open hearth bread oven in the colonies. The splendid coverage of the tour by the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, the Des Moines *Register*, and Stations WHO and WHO-TV attests the tremendous interest of press, radio, and television in the Amana tour.

Important Centennials Lie Ahead of Us

It is important for Iowans to pause and take stock whenever a centennial rolls around. One hundred years is a long period of time. Many things can happen to people and to a community during the course of a century. If we miss a centennial observance it will be a long time before the second century rolls around. It is highly gratifying to an historian to note the number of communities, churches, schools, newspapers, industries, etc., observing their centennials during 1954 and 1955. Since your own Society will be observing its one hundredth anniversary in 1957, let us consider a few other centennials immediately before us.

The founding of the first Amana village by Christian Metz occurred in 1855. We dare not let 1955 slip by without doing something to commemorate this event. We have already conducted a tour for the Iowa Legislative Ladies League and we now hope that a tour can be arranged this fall similar to the one conducted by us in 1951 when 230 members took part.

The organization of the Little Brown Church in the Vale at Bradford (Nashua) occurred in 1855. That rich Iowa historical gem will be observing the first of many centennials in its history in the years ahead. On the occasion of our Biennial Meeting, a delegation from Chickasaw County was present, composed of the following members of our Society: Tom D. Conklin, Mrs. Earle Edson. The following invitation was presented to the Superintendent by Mrs. Edson:

The Chickasaw County Historical Society cordially invites the members of the State Historical Society of Iowa to participate with it in a joint historical observance of the Centennial of the Little Brown Church in the Vale at Nashua in the fall of 1955. Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the Society, was invited to be the principal speaker on the occasion of this centennial observance.

SOCIETY SEEKS PERMANENT FIREPROOF QUARTERS

During the past six years the Board of Curators has been confronted with two serious problems — first, the inaccessibility of our quarters due to the eighty-six steps that lead from the street to the third floor of Schaeffer Hall and, second, the lack of space for books, newspapers, and our own reserve stock of publications. Two elevator shafts had originally been built in Schaeffer Hall in 1898, but no cars have been installed during the succeeding half century. As a result, many elderly Iowans — students of local history, newspapermen, legislators, and other prominent folks, paid one visit to our library and that invariably was the last one. Meanwhile, desks occupied by graduate students and faculty had to be removed and their place taken by newspapers that had to be carried upstairs and piled to the ceiling. The problem of space seemed to have no solution, for University classes were bulging and faculty men needed offices.

During the summer of 1954 the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society made an important decision. Since its establishment at Iowa City in 1857 the Society has had six homes. At first it occupied rooms in the Old Stone Capitol. In 1862 its library and collections were removed to the Mechanics Academy building. Three years later the Society was authorized to use "the Library Room and Cabinet of the University for their purposes as a Society, with leave to hold the annual meetings of the Society in the University Chapel." In June, 1868, the Board of Curators leased the Old Stone Church on Burlington Street, which served as headquarters until 1882, when better quarters were secured in a building on Washington Street. Finally, in September, 1901, in accordance with the wishes of the General Assembly, the Society was assigned rooms on the third floor of the Hall of Liberal Arts, now Schaeffer Hall. During the first forty-four years of its existence the Society was located in the University for eleven years, in its own quarters for the remaining thirty-three years.

In the fifty-three years that followed the Society's removal into the Liberal Arts building in 1901 the holdings of the Society have expanded 1,000

per cent, increasing from a few thousand books and pamphlets to 105,000 in 1954. Our newspaper files have increased on the same scale, numbering 7,000 volumes in 1955, plus a tremendous amount of microfilmed volumes. Meanwhile, the amount of space allotted to the Society has failed to keep up with its steadily expanding holdings — business and editorial offices, library, newspapers, storage and shipping being housed in 9,500 square feet. The situation has become desperate since World War II; some newspapers, once filed in the basement, must now be housed on the third floor, creating a hazardous weight problem. The University, meanwhile, has its own space problems. Enrollment reached 8,500 in 1954 with prospects of a steady increase in the years ahead. The University is now using 65,000 square feet of temporary housing, much of which is steadily deteriorating.

In the spring of 1954 the University approached the Board of Curators with a proposal that the Society consider vacating its quarters in Schaeffer Hall and moving its offices temporarily into the newly acquired Dey home on Clinton Street north of Currier Hall. The University itself would ask \$200,000 from the General Assembly for a temporary fireproof air-conditioned storage building behind the Dey home to house the Society's books and newspapers.

The Board of Curators deliberated over this proposal for several months. Although far removed from the campus, the Dey home was on one of the most beautiful sites on the campus. It was generally agreed, however, that the small rooms of the Dey home would not handle either the personnel or the heavy office equipment of the Society. Furthermore, since the Society was approaching its Centennial it would scarcely be a wise move to return to temporary quarters such as it occupied during the first forty-four years of its life. Since the \$200,000 request for capital improvements from the General Assembly would be included with ten other major University capital improvement projects, the sum desired for the Society would be lost in the scramble. The Curators felt, however, that since the Society would be required to seek its own appropriation from the legislature it should shoulder the responsibility of securing funds for its own capital improvements. It was felt that the Society had gained a host of friends in the General Assembly, most of whom were members of the Society, who would see the plight of the Society and rally to its assistance. President Hancher accordingly withdrew the University's \$200,000 request for storage space from his askings and agreed to be helpful in every way in the Society's quest.

An incident soon occurred which played an important part in the Society's future plans. Early in August, 1954, State Representative Wilmot Hendrix clambered up the eighty-six steps to the State Historical Society quarters on the third floor of Schaeffer Hall in Iowa City. Mrs. Hendrix was with him, accompanied by two elderly friends. While the ladies busied themselves getting valuable historical information, Representative Hendrix soberly remarked to your Superintendent that not one of the four in his party would be able to visit our Society quarters again because of those steps. Since this had happened hundreds of times, I said: "Wilmot, do you suppose if we could raise \$100,000 from members that the General Assembly would give us \$200,000 to erect an adequate fireproof building easily accessible to all Iowans?" Mr. Hendrix said he believed they would, or at least that our chances would be improved 100 per cent. He also declared that he would help us in the legislature and believed enough in the work of the Society that he would contribute personally to the proposed building.

A week later, while your Superintendent was attending a dinner honoring Herbert Hoover at the Howard Hall home in Cedar Rapids, he had an opportunity to discuss the Society's problem with Craig R. Sheaffer, president of the Sheaffer Pen Company at Fort Madison. Mr. Sheaffer, a Life Member of the Society, was the first to receive a typed copy of "Some Facts About Your State Historical Society" which was printed simultaneously in the November, 1954, issue of *News for Members*.

Some Facts About Your State Historical Society

1. It was established by law in 1857.
2. It is one of the oldest departments in the State of Iowa.
3. It has the second largest membership in the United States, almost five thousand Active and Life Members.
4. It has one of the finest publication programs, issuing a monthly magazine, a quarterly, and at least one book each year.
5. It is desperately crowded for space in its University quarters. It occupies 9,500 square feet of space and urgently needs 15,000 square feet.
6. The University is unable to grant more space because of its own crowded conditions. By building its own building, the Society will release valuable space to the University.
7. The Society should be properly housed in its own building as it enters its second century of growth in 1957.

8. It has never before called upon its members for a contribution.
9. It now proposes to raise \$100,000 from members and friends toward a Centennial Building for its offices, library, and newspaper collection.
10. It proposes to ask the next General Assembly for \$200,000 to complete this 110' x 70' two-story building.
11. Such a building would provide space for years to come and would be a fitting monument to the Iowa pioneers who established the Society.
12. Contributions to this educational institution can be deducted in computing your Federal and State Income Taxes.
13. Our expanding library and increasing demand by the public for services necessitates a new fireproof building, accessible to all.

The day after my return from California, where I had the privilege of addressing 50,000 Iowans at their annual picnic at Long Beach, I received a letter from Mr. Sheaffer stating that the W. A. Sheaffer Memorial Foundation was pledging \$5,000 for our proposed building, contingent on the General Assembly appropriating \$200,000 toward it. Mr. Sheaffer concluded his fine letter by saying: "Walter and John along with me think this is a worthy project, and we are glad to be able to participate with full hopes of your usual success."

Shortly afterwards, as additional personal contacts were made by your Superintendent, the following heart-warming letters were received:

Governor William S. Beardsley, a Life Member of the Society, wrote: "Mrs. Beardsley and I are happy to pledge \$500 toward this meritorious program. The work of the Society is of such a nature and its records are so precious that it should have the finest and safest facilities. I wish you well in your campaign."

From Robert E. Vance, president of the Maytag Company Foundation, which is also giving \$5,000, the Superintendent received best wishes for the success of this undertaking.

Dorothy Musser of Iowa City, in giving a check for \$1,000, said: "Although I now live in Arizona, I am still for Iowa and its wonderful history. You need that building and I hope you get it."

Commodore O. D. Collis of Clinton wrote: "You can put O. D. Collis down for \$500. Let me know when you want the check and I will mail it to you." That check was immediately forthcoming and is drawing interest in the bank.

These are but a few of the many fine gifts and pledges that were made to the Society before Christmas. With \$20,000 already pledged by January, 1955, the prospects for success looked bright indeed.

Meanwhile, our hopes were buoyed up by the warm support given our proposed Centennial Building in the press. Editorializing in the Burlington *Hawk-Eye Gazette*, Clarence Moody declared the idea of a new home a "splendid one" that "deserves to enjoy fruition." J. M. Beck was equally enthusiastic in the Centerville *Jowegian*: "Iowa has one of the most enterprising as well as one of the largest State Historical Societies. William J. Petersen, superintendent, has energy and ideas which bring results. His present major project is to get a building to house the rapidly accumulating library of valuable historical matter and provide quarters for the Society at Iowa City. Iowa has a rich history. It needs to be collected and preserved." The Decorah *Public-Opinion* declared: "This is a worthy cause, and we hope it succeeds." The Des Moines *Register* concluded its editorial by stating "We hope [Petersen is] successful in getting the \$300,000." "There's no question of the need of new quarters," Bill Ferguson wrote in the Glidden *Graphic*. "I'm confident that the membership of the society will over-subscribe their share of the funds if the Legislature will provide the remaining \$200,000." Glen Ellis was just as pleased about the Centennial Building in his Marengo *Pioneer-Republican* editorial: "Dr. Petersen has built the Historical Society of Iowa into a virile and efficient agency for the preservation of Iowa history. Given the support and accommodations it needs, the organization can accomplish wonders. It is for that reason that this writer hopes fervently, that all concerned will take the future of the society's efforts very seriously."

Many editors had learned of the Society's inaccessibility through personal experience. Writing in the Iowa City *Press-Citizen*, Ed Greene declared: "Anyone who has ever climbed the 86 steps to the quarters of the State Historical Society . . . will join immediately in the society's efforts to get permanent and fireproof quarters by 1957. . . . The preservation of Iowa history is of great importance for the present as well as for future generations. . . . This is a project in which every Iowan should be interested."

The doctor may have told Ralph Shannon to slow down a bit, but he couldn't stop those crackling editorials from appearing in the Washington *Evening Journal*. "With nearly 5,000 active members supporting the work; with its interesting monthly magazine and publication program; with a

growing demand for the Society's services; and with a national reputation for its activities — all these facts point up to a need for prompt action. You just can't throw all those achievements out the window and then lock the door." The building plan, Shannon concluded in the *Journal*, "won't fail. The people of Iowa won't let it."

Our willingness to raise \$100,000, our cramped quarters in Schaeffer Hall, the need of the University for additional space in this building, the warm support of the press and members of the Society, all were important factors in gaining legislative support. It is with heartfelt gratitude that I am able to report that the 56th General Assembly of the state of Iowa appropriated \$200,000 for a State Historical Society Centennial Building contingent on the Society raising \$100,000 toward its erection. This was the goal which we announced in November, and the action of the legislature represents a long step toward the realization of our objectives. We already have passed the \$25,000 mark in our campaign, and I am confident that our loyal members and friends will see that we achieve our goal of \$100,000. Meanwhile, we should all be deeply grateful to the seventeen Senators who placed their names on Senate File 191, and to the twenty-six House members who personally endorsed House File 248. These men warmly encouraged and supported me throughout those busy 115 days, when larger appropriations and more controversial measures might readily have caused our small, albeit important, request to be lost in the shuffle.

Members of the State Historical Society of Iowa have a real challenge to face in raising \$100,000 to match the \$200,000 appropriated by the legislature. The Board of Curators has under consideration the problem of the best available site, a permanent fire resistant building to house the Society during the next one hundred years, and the employment of a qualified architect to draw up plans and supervise the construction of this building. The machinery will shortly be placed in motion to implement the collection of this sum.

In conclusion, my deepest thanks go out to an efficient and hard-working staff, a loyal and devoted Board of Curators, and to hundreds of enthusiastic members who have warmly supported our efforts to broaden the base of state and local history throughout Iowa and the nation. I am confident the response will be an overwhelming support of our program and the realization of our dreams — a permanent Centennial Building to house the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1957.

THE UNIVERSITY AS HEAD OF THE IOWA SCHOOL SYSTEM

*By Vernon Carstensen**

The State University of Iowa today stands at the head of the public school system of the state. Such is the organization of the system that each unit — the elementary school, the junior high school, the high school, and even the junior college — articulates with the one above. Complete from base to apex the educational pyramid stands as a massive symbol to attest the abundant faith of democratic people in education. This vast system is the result of years of slow educational evolution, but it does not represent the upward thrust of the elementary schools. It is one of the most striking features of American educational history that provision was first made for elementary schools and colleges. When Harvard College was founded in the seventeenth century, no general provision was made for the middle schools. Almost the same condition obtained when the University of Iowa was established a little over two centuries later. Only after a long struggle was the gap between the elementary schools and the university effectively bridged and there emerged that peculiarly American institution, the unified system of education.

It is not within the scope of the present study to treat the whole process of unifying the educational system of Iowa, but in order to view in proper perspective the movement which resulted in placing the University at the head of the public school system, it will be necessary to sketch in some detail certain aspects of the movement toward unification. It is the purpose of this article to describe certain phases of the process of articulating the high schools and the University in Iowa. In doing this it will be necessary to suggest the origin of the unified system of education and the circumstances which gave the movement support in America; to show how the idea was adopted in Iowa and found expression in law; and how the system became effective through the establishment of high schools, the articulation of the University and these high schools, and the abolition of the preparatory department of the University in 1878.

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The idea of a unified system of education is clearly linked, in its origin, with the spirit of nationalism. Nineteenth century leaders saw in education a powerful instrument which could be used to advance nationalistic ends. This idea found expression in the reports of Condorcet early in the French Revolution. By means of education, widely diffused among the people, the idealists of the Revolution thought to perpetuate the new order that they were in the process of creating. But their bright hopes faded before they found embodiment, and it remained for a Prussian king, Frederick William III, to create a centralized and unified system of education. In America, the Jacksonian era, with its multitude of humanitarian reforms, its vigorous avowal of democracy, its intense nationalism, brought renewed and active interest in education. In the movement which sought to extend and increase the opportunities of education the imperative need for some centralized control was clearly perceived. Because of the peculiar historical development of the United States, the states rather than the central government became the units of educational organization. In the movement which sought both the extension and central control of schools, the example of the Prussian system was not lost upon American educators. At the time when the state systems were beginning to take form, such men as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard were publishing descriptions of the Prussian system, ardently advocating parts of it to their countrymen, and in every way making possible the adaptation of the Prussian system to the American situation. The English translation of Victor Cousin's famous report on the Prussian system of education appeared in America early enough (1835) to have considerable effect. It was the effective state-wide organization which the Prussian system entailed that served as an example for progressive American educators.¹

The Prussian system afforded an example of what efficient centralized education could be, but the undemocratic philosophy on which it rested found little support in the United States. There were forces at work which were to alter considerably the Old World concept of education. It must be remembered that the educational revival in the United States was part of the humanitarian movement as well as of the movement toward nationalism. Not only was education conceived to be the instrument by which demo-

¹ See Edward H. Riesner, *Nationalism and Education* (New York, 1922), 351-81; Ellwood P. Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States* (New York, 1919), 270-78; J. F. A. Pyre, *Wisconsin* (New York, 1920), 42-3.

cratic government would be transmitted, untarnished, to succeeding generations, but it was also looked upon as an instrument which would inevitably enable a person to improve his economic and social position. "Education" was often recommended and supported as the universal solvent of social ills: it would prevent crime, pauperism, and the like. The absence of a class system in America, the intense democratic sentiments of the time, the idealistic objectives of education — these factors gave to the American schools a democratic character distinctly unlike any European system. Moreover, there seems to have been, even at the beginning of the educational revival, a philosophy of education, never fully stated yet implicit in the very nature of the system, which is profoundly significant. Intelligence was conceived to be the natural possession of all men, and education was accepted as the instrument which would release this intelligence. Hence the constant and repeated use, even at the present time, of the terms literacy and intelligence, as if they were synonymous. Humanitarians, nationalists, democrats — all had just cause for desiring a unified system of schools.

Lying directly in the path of the westward movement of population, organized as a territory in 1838 and as a state in 1846, Iowa was to feel the full impact of the educational revival. Iowa, like other new states, had to build and adapt an educational system while settlement was taking place rapidly, while the settlers were in the very act of building a material civilization on the frontier.

The process of unifying the educational system did not begin at the outset of the political history of the territory, but numerous attempts were made to provide a basis for uniform organization of the schools. Early in his first message to the territorial legislature, Governor Robert Lucas pointedly called attention to the necessity of adequately providing for educational facilities in the territory. "There is no subject," he declared, "to which I wish to call your attention more emphatically than the subject of establishing, at the commencement of our political existence, a well digested system of common schools; and as a preparatory step towards effecting that important object . . . I urge upon your consideration the necessity of providing by law for the organization of townships."²

Although Lucas was not successful in getting the legislature to adopt laws providing for a uniform organization of the school districts of the

² Iowa, *Journal of the Council of the First Legislative Assembly, 1838*, 6.

state, his was not the only attempt to secure such legislation. The two territorial governors who followed him, John Chambers and James Clarke, repeatedly urged the legislature to enact laws which would make possible a complete and effective organization of elementary education, and would protect school lands from intruders.³ Although the territorial legislature adopted many laws dealing with education, the only act which can be said to have in it the suggestion of state supervision of schools was one which provided for the establishment of the office of a territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction. This officer was empowered to organize the educational system of the territory and required to report to the legislature. Dr. William Reynolds was elected to this office, served for one year, made a report to the territorial legislature, and then the office was abolished.⁴

When Iowa became a state, at least one notable provision was made for the eventual unification of the schools. The constitution provided for a Superintendent of Public Instruction. It is true that during the first few years his duties were principally fiscal, but the act gave centrality to the educational program, and it created a responsible officer who, in the future, would assume a measure of supervision over the schools of the state. Furthermore, the first General Assembly, in providing for the establishment of the State University, made the Superintendent of Public Instruction president of the Board of Trustees and declared that there should be established in the University a professorship for the training of teachers.

Little of real importance was done to unify or completely organize the school system during the early years of statehood. Provision was made for the establishment of elementary schools throughout the state, and in 1849, in answer to the request of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the legislature passed a law permitting communities to organize "union schools" to carry education beyond the elementary grades. In the years between 1846 and 1857, when a new constitution was adopted, the Superintendents of Public Instruction asked for better school laws, and the governors repeatedly called the attention of the legislatures to the need for more adequate provision for education, while the educators deplored the inactivity of the legislature and the lethargy of the communities. The legislature, not

³ Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1905), 1:257, 266, 341-2.

⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1841*, Chap. 46; *Iowa Council Journal, 1841-1842*, 278-88; *Laws of Iowa, 1841-1842*, Chap. 108.

to be outdone, passed more and more laws in a futile attempt to patch up an ill-digested educational system.

In his second biennial message, submitted as he retired from office, Governor Stephen Hempstead spoke of the immediate and urgent need of revising the school laws which provided for education. "Experience has taught us," he said, "that these laws are too complicated and by frequent amendment have become difficult to understand, or carry [sic] them into force without the commission of errors, which not unfrequently leads to protracted and burdensome litigation."⁵ On the day that Hempstead delivered this message, there came to the office as governor a man who was to give impetus to the movement. James W. Grimes, himself an Easterner and a college trained man, brought to the governorship a broad conception of the function of government as an instrument for social improvement. In his inaugural address Grimes presented what he considered to be an analysis of the function of government. He realized the difficulty of making equitable and necessary laws for a state still in the throes of rapid settlement, but he contended that the time had come for the lawmakers to relinquish their local interests and to view the problems of the state as a whole. In words which strongly remind us of Horace Mann, he explained the function of government and the object of education.

Government is established for the protection of the governed. But that protection does not consist merely in the enforcement of laws against injury to the person and property. Men do not make a voluntary abnegation of their natural rights simply that those rights may be protected by the body politic. It reaches more vital interests than those of property. Its greatest object is to elevate and ennoble the citizen. It would fall far short of its design if it did not disseminate intelligence, and build up the moral energies of the people. It is organized "to establish justice, promote the public welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." It is designed to foster the instincts of truth, justice and philanthropy, that are implanted in our very natures, and from which all constitutions and all laws derive their validity and value. It should afford moral as well as physical protection, by educating the rising generation; by encouraging industry and sobriety; by steadfastly adhering to the right, and by being ever true to the instincts of freedom and humanity. To accomplish these high aims of government, the first re-

⁵ "Biennial Message of the Governor of Iowa . . . December 9, 1854," *Iowa Senate Documents, 1854-1855*, 5.

quisite is ample provision for the education of the youth of the State. . . . The State should see to it that the elements of education, like the elements of universal nature, are above, around, and beneath all.

It is agreed that the safety and perpetuity of our republican institutions depends upon the diffusion of intelligence among the masses of the people. The statistics of the penitentiaries and almshouses throughout the country, abundantly show, that education is the best preventive of pauperism and crime. They show, also, that the prevention of these evils is much less expensive than the punishment of the one, and the relief of the other. Education, too, is the great equalizer of human conditions. It places the poor on an equality with the rich. It subjects the appetites and passions of the rich to the restraints of reason and conscience, and thus prepares each for a career of usefulness and honor. Every consideration, therefore, of duty and policy, impels us to sustain the common schools of the State in the highest possible efficiency.

Education, he contended, should be supported by a general property tax, for "Property is the only legitimate subject of taxation. It has its duties, as well as its rights. It needs the conservative influences of education, and should be made to pay for its own protection."⁶

Nothing constructive was done by the General Assembly during the first session under the governorship of Grimes, but at a special session in the summer of 1856 a measure was approved which empowered the governor to appoint a commission of three to revise the school laws of Iowa.⁷ To do this work, Grimes appointed Horace Mann, Amos Dean, then chancellor of the University, and Frederick Bissell, an Iowa teacher.⁸ Bissell, much to the regret of the other two commissioners, was unable to assist in the work, but Amos Dean and Horace Mann drew up plans for the revision of the educational system and submitted them to the Sixth General Assembly.⁹

Although the revision proposed was not adopted at that time, the report

⁶ "Inaugural Message of James W. Grimes . . . December 9th, 1854," *ibid.*, 4-5.

⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856, 78.

⁸ Leonard Fletcher Parker, who was in a position to know the facts of the case, explains the appointment of Dean and Mann thus: ". . . they were appointed . . . by Governor Grimes because of their well-known opinions as well as for their ability. He understood what kind of a law they would report, and appointed them for the sake of that report." Leonard F. Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa* (Washington, 1893), 29.

⁹ *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1856, 191-200.

of the commissioners revealed plans for a unified system of education extending from the elementary schools to the University. Among other things the commissioners recommended that provision be made for the establishment of "high academies" or "polytechnic" schools in counties having a population of 20,000 or over. They insisted that the University should be "the head and also the aim of Iowa education," and they desired "to send into every family of Iowa now, and through all future time, a spirit stirring impulse, an animating principle, which shall penetrate the depths of every young heart, and arouse the latent energies of every young spirit, and thus carry forward the common school system into the fullest and completest realization of its glorious mission."¹⁰

That the suggestions of the commissioners were not adopted and written into the laws of the state does not mean that a state-wide and unified system of education was in disfavor among the leaders in Iowa.¹¹ On the contrary, all indications suggest that the movement toward unification had set in strong and sure. In August of 1856 the people of Iowa, by an overwhelming majority, had voted to call a constitutional convention. In December the delegates to the convention were chosen. Of the thirty-six members of that convention, twenty-one had been elected by the newly organized Republican party.¹²

Education was the subject of much spirited if not always lucid debate in the convention. A Committee on Education and School Lands was appointed on the second day. Four days later Edward Johnson of Lee County offered a resolution recommending that this committee be requested to inquire into the expediency of so amending the constitution as to create a board of education. The board was to be made up of ten or twelve mem-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 199-200. The Sixth General Assembly passed an appropriation bill allowing fifty dollars to Horace Mann and Amos Dean "for services as commissioners to revise the school laws." The measure which had created the commission provided that the commissioners were to receive four dollars a day. *Laws of Iowa, 1856-1857*, 446.

¹¹ George W. Ells, delegate to the constitutional convention, resident of Scott County, charged in debate on the convention floor that the reason for the failure of the educational reform bill to pass was that the General Assembly split over the question of admitting Negroes to the schools. *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention* (2 vols., Davenport, Iowa, 1857), 2:728-9.

¹² Benjamin Gue, *History of Iowa* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 1:284. The convention assembled at Iowa City, Jan. 19, 1857, and remained in session until March 5. The constitution drawn up was adopted by the people of the state in August of the same year.

bers, it was to govern the University and have "general charge of the common and other public schools of the state." After a short flurry of debate on the floor, the convention approved the resolution.¹³

On January 28 the Committee on Schools submitted a majority and a minority report. Both reports contemplated the creation of a board which would control the educational system of the state. The reports differed chiefly in that the majority one would assign definite powers and duties to the board and have these powers written into the constitution; the minority report sought to write into the constitution only the provisions which would create the board and declare its general function. The details of organization and duties were to be left to the legislature.¹⁴ That there would be a board of education created to control the public system of the state seemed to be generally agreed upon. Why it should be created, and what it should do was best explained by James Hall, delegate from Des Moines County, in his defense of the majority report.

By this majority report, you separate this subject, you divorce it, from all this variety of topics, subjects claiming the attention of the legislature. You take it from the legislature, to which men are elected upon other and different grounds from those which should be taken into consideration here, and whose minds are absorbed in the consideration of other topics. This report keeps the subject of education by itself, and places it in the hands of those elected solely in reference to that subject. . . . The leading feature of this majority report is to divorce and separate the cause of education from the wild and hurried scramble of the political arena, and consign it untrammelled and unfettered to the care of those who are best qualified by experience and education to promote its interests and mature it into healthful growth. . . . It must be acknowledged that the General Assembly is not the fit body to manage and have jurisdiction of the system of education.¹⁵

In a later debate on the same subject, he stated:

I ask the convention to consider most thoroughly all the principles contained in this report, which is to give independence to the school district, which is to sever and divorce it from that great political cauldron which forever boils and bubbles throughout the State. Let it have a chance to breathe, where it may not inhale

¹³ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention*, 1:21, 39-40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:78-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:526-7.

the festering atmosphere of political excitement. Give it a chance to rise, without being clogged by inattention, as it has been heretofore.¹⁶

The board was objected to by some of the delegates because it would create a second legislative assembly in the state and thereby violate that American tradition of having only three departments of government. Moreover, since no one was willing that the board should have the power to levy taxes for the support of the schools, the power to legislate on school matters would be divided between the General Assembly and the Board of Education.¹⁷

It is not necessary here, in tracing the development of unification of education in Iowa, to follow in detail the debates over the establishment of the board. The board was created without any great objection to the two important ideas on which it was based: that education should be placed beyond the reach of the ordinary legislature; and that the whole system should be organized under one body. It is apparent that Amos Dean and Horace Mann had not attempted to impose upon an unwilling state a system of education alien to the demands of the state.

In the last report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction under the constitution of 1846, Maturin L. Fisher emphasized the need for a complete organization from the elementary schools to the University, and he asked for a system of scholarships to support superior students in the "High Schools" and the University.

A scheme of public instruction would be incomplete without some provision for a higher degree of mental culture, without an institution to facilitate the cultivation of philosophy in all its branches, and the pursuit of the sciences in all their ramifications. We have such an institution in the State University already organized and handsomely endowed. In the high schools young men should be prepared to enter the University, and in the University young men should be educated without charge for tuition, to become professors in the high schools. The proposed system, then, is thus constituted: 1st, the Common School; 2nd, the High School; 3rd, the State University — each in its order, preparatory to the other.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:753.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:744ff., 748-9.

¹⁸ "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Legislative Documents*, 1857, 15ff., 18-19.

Although the constitution of 1857 created a Board of Education and expressly provided that "the board of education shall have full power to legislate and make all needful rules and regulations in relation to Common Schools, and other educational institutions, that are instituted, to receive aid from the school or University fund of this state . . .,"¹⁹ the first General Assembly to meet under the constitution passed a general school law. The law then enacted was based largely upon the unadopted report of the school commissioners of two years before.²⁰ Approved by the governor on March 12, 1858, this law provided for free elementary schools, for the establishment of county high schools, and the government of the University. It provided a number of scholarships to both the "High Schools" and the University for those who sought to become teachers. A plain violation of the constitution, the law was held unconstitutional by the supreme court of the state the same year on the grounds that the legislature had exceeded its authority. The Board of Education, meeting in Des Moines in December of 1858, was then faced with the necessity of either drawing up a whole school law or enacting the one which had been declared unconstitutional. It re-enacted what was substantially the old law, save for the provision for scholarships. Since the Board of Education had no power under the constitution to levy taxes and no source of income, the only scholarships which it could provide were free tuition scholarships to the University.²¹

The idea of a unified system of education was accepted by the end of the fifties, but the educational development of the state was not such that unification could be reckoned as more than an abstract principle. Moreover, no attempt had yet been made to define the exact relationship between the several units of the school system. It was not until 1870 that the legislature attempted a tenuous definition by declaring that "The University, so far as practicable shall begin the course of study . . . at the point where the same [is] completed in the High Schools."²² Eight years later the legislature attempted further to define the function of the University by prohibiting the University from using any part of its funds for the support of any department which did not properly belong to the University. This law, which was passed for the purpose of abolishing the preparatory department

¹⁹ *Constitution of Iowa*, Article IX, Sec. 8.

²⁰ Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa*, 29.

²¹ *Acts . . . Board of Education . . . Des Moines, 1858* (Des Moines, 1858).

²² *Laws of Iowa, 1870*, Chap. 87.

of the University, declared in effect that it was the function of the high schools, among other things, to prepare students for the University.

Thus, slowly and uncertainly was the idea of a unified system of education written into law. The last and final step in the process was taken when the State Board of Education, after the turn of the twentieth century, adopted a resolution which demanded that the three state institutions — the University, the Agricultural College, and the State Teachers College — accept all high school graduates who possessed the proper certificates from the high schools.

But the story is not told simply in a review of the legal steps taken to insure unification of education in the state. In 1856, when the idea of a unified system of education first found expression in Iowa, the population of the state did not exceed 500,000. At the time the preparatory department of the University was abolished, the population exceeded 1,500,000. Hence such unification as was achieved during the years under study was accomplished while immigration was at flood tide. The whole movement must be studied against the chaotic background which such a vast migration and increase of population implies and in terms of a fluid society, frontier conditions, rapid and materialistic building, and of all other concomitants to the rapid settlement of a new country. It was only with difficulty in this situation that anything resembling an organized and effectively executed system of unified education could be begun. Since it is as impossible as it is inappropriate in this study to consider the whole evolution of the middle schools during the period under discussion, the process of articulating the University to the high schools will be approached chiefly from the standpoint of what the University, as represented by the action of the governing board, the faculty, and the friends of the institution, did in working out the details of the unification.

Established at Iowa City, Johnson County, in 1847, the University did not open until the spring of 1855. After that haphazard session, the Board of Trustees made provision for the establishment and maintenance of a preparatory school in connection with the University. This was necessary, since at the time there was no place in the public school system where a student might prepare himself to enter the University. The preparatory department attracted a great many more students than did the collegiate department of the University. The great majority of these students came from Iowa City and Johnson County. Of the 125 students listed on the

rolls in 1857, over 100 were either in the normal department or the preparatory department—over 60 were in the preparatory department alone. Small wonder that the University, in the first years of its existence, was sometimes called the “Johnson County High School.”

When the General Assembly first convened under the constitution of 1857, it adopted a new school law for the state. As has been noted above, this law made provision for a public school system extending from elementary schools to the University. With reference to the University, it provided a new governing board and a new act under which the University was to be governed. The Board held its first session in April, 1858.

During its three-day session the Board of Trustees adopted a new plan of organization for the University, abolished the preparatory department, and decided to close the University until more funds had accumulated and the high schools had prepared students for the University.²³

Anson Hart, Secretary of the Board, in a public statement explained the action of the Board by saying that under the new law the Board assumed that it had no authority to continue the preparatory department. Because the Board desired to raise the standards of the University, because it could not legally maintain a preparatory department, and because the high schools had not yet become sufficiently numerous or effective to prepare students for the reorganized University, the institution was to be closed for a while. The Board had acted with reluctance. Hart asserted that “all western colleges and Universities have this department, which is used as a feeder to supply the institution with which it is connected.” To continue the University without a preparatory department would be disastrous. Without this department, Hart proclaimed, “the University could at best amount to little more than a High School as it has hitherto been, for the benefit of Iowa City.”²⁴

Thus early in the history of the University the problem of the relationship between the University and the state school system vexed and perplexed the governors of the University, the faculty, and many a public man. It was assumed that the University was to be the head of the public school system of the state, but mere assumption did not make the Univer-

²³ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Book A (1847-1876), April 27, 1858, p. 92 (University Archives). Unless otherwise noted, manuscript materials noted are in the University Archives at Iowa City.

²⁴ Iowa City *Weekly Republican*, May 5, 1858.

sity in actuality what it was conceived to be in theory. The years that followed this first attempt to abolish the preparatory department reveal the slow process by which the theory of a unified school system found practical expression in the abolition of the preparatory department and in the articulation of the high schools and the University.

The Board of Trustees created under the School Law of 1858 held only two sessions. When the law under which it had been created was declared unconstitutional, it was succeeded by a Board of Trustees appointed by the Board of Education. Attempts on the part of the new Board to reopen the University in 1859 failed. Not until 1860 did the collegiate department of the University, under a new faculty, resume work.

Hardly had instruction begun before the faculty was clamoring for the establishment of a preparatory department. Few of the students who came to the University were qualified for college work, and all were unequally prepared.²⁵ After discussing the situation informally, the faculty called a meeting "to discuss the propriety of organizing a preparatory department at the opening of the next term." What arguments were advanced we do not know, but the conclusion of the faculty is unmistakable: "It was unanimously agreed to establish, with the concurrence of the Board, a preparatory department under the supervision of the faculty and Professor Spencer was appointed a Committee of one to have a conference with Professor Guffin with reference to his taking charge of said department."²⁶ The faculty then addressed a circular letter to members of the Board, asking permission to open this department.²⁷ By the end of January a majority of the Board had assented to the request, and on January 31 the faculty adopted a resolution to organize a preparatory department "under the supervision of the several professors." A fee of six dollars a session was charged, and the fee was to be reduced by one third for each class which a student had in the University.²⁸ The department was opened at the beginning of the second semester.²⁹

²⁵ Nathan R. Leonard, "The State University of Iowa in 1860-1," *Iowa Alumnus*, 4:227-30 (1907).

²⁶ Minutes of the Faculty, Book A (1860-1881), Dec. 6, 1860, pp. 8-9 (MSS, University Archives, Iowa City).

²⁷ Report of President Totten to the Board of Trustees, June 27, 1861 (MSS, University Archives).

²⁸ Minutes of the Faculty, Book A, Jan. 31, 1861, p. 10.

²⁹ Report of President Totten . . . , June 27, 1861.

In his report to the Board of Trustees in June, 1861, President Silas Totten asked that the preparatory department be given permanent organization. "It is the opinion of the Faculty," he wrote, "that such a department is essential to the success of the University in the present condition of Classical Education in the State. They hope, therefore, that provision will be made for its permanent organization. In order to do this properly, it will be necessary to furnish a study room in the University building, and employ a teacher, whose business it will be to maintain order in the room, and give instructions in the lower branches. This teacher need not be one of high attainments as the Professors will have time to instruct in all the higher studies of the department."³⁰ The Board of Trustees complied with the request the next day, prescribed the requisites for admission,³¹ and provided that the course should be two years in length. Thus the preparatory department again became a part of the University, not because it was wanted but simply because there was no way to avoid having it.

The importance of the department in the 1860's is suggested by the enrollment figures. Of a total of 254 students at the University during the academic year 1861-1862, 104 attended classes in the preparatory department, 129 in the normal department. Five years later, 79 students were registered in the collegiate department, 62 in the normal, and 241 in the preparatory; 248 were classified as irregular.³²

In 1865, in order to effect greater uniformity in the University and offer better facilities for preparation, the preparatory course was lengthened to three years.³³ The condition which made the University unwillingly responsible for the preparation of its students was inescapable. In 1865 the term "high school" still had very little meaning in practice. In fact there were only eighteen public high schools in Iowa, and these were vague and indefinite, often embracing no more than a year's work beyond the elemen-

³⁰ *Idem.*

³¹ Minutes of the Board, June 28, 1861, pp. 185-6.

³² *Catalogue of the University of Iowa, 1861-62* (Iowa City, 1862). (Hereafter, the catalogues will be referred to as *University Catalogue*.) These statistics are not exactly accurate since it often happened that a student attended classes in both the preparatory department and the collegiate department, but even though they may not show precisely what the enrollment was, they indicate the great popularity and the necessity of the preparatory department. *University Catalogue, 1866-1867*.

³³ Report of Nathan R. Leonard (president pro tem) to the Board of Trustees, June, 1867 (MSS, University Archives). See *University Catalogue, 1865-66*, 21, for report of additional year.

tary schools.³⁴ None was adequate or willing to prepare students for the University. The Superintendent of Public Instruction might write in glowing terms of the high school, might insist that it "prepares its pupils for business life or for the University," and publish a high school graded course;³⁵ but this part of the unified system of education was still far from reality.

The fact that the middle schools were not yet ready to do their work did not save the University from criticism because of its preparatory department. As the first faculty of the University had observed, the preparatory department served the students from Iowa City and Johnson County principally. Hence the University came to be regarded as a local institution. Even though the middle schools had not yet been created, there were critics who insisted that in maintaining the preparatory department the University was pre-empting ground which should be the province of the high schools. Both the University faculty and the governing Board recognized the cause of the unpopularity of the preparatory department, and they did what they could to improve the situation.

In May, 1867, a faculty committee was appointed to "present to the Board a plan on the contraction of the course of studies in the preparatory department."³⁶ The committee report was presented to the Board at its June meeting, together with the report of the president pro tem of the University, Nathan R. Leonard. In his report, Leonard called the attention of the Board to the necessity of reducing the time for the preparatory course from three to two years. He explained that the preparatory department had been organized in the beginning because "it was thought necessary to meet a pressing demand in the then condition of the State for preparatory instruction, and also as affording the only means of drawing students to the university." In order to serve this purpose better, the course had been lengthened to three years. "It is believed that the condition of the public and high schools of the state is now such that we may by the modifications suggested reduce the number of years in this department from three to two . . . with advantage to the University and without detriment to the interests of the State."³⁷ The recommendations of the faculty committee and

³⁴ Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa*, map opposite p. 44.

³⁵ "Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. I, 23, 25-6.

³⁶ Minutes of the Faculty, Book A, May 8, 1867, p. 226.

³⁷ Report of Nathan R. Leonard . . . , June, 1867.

the president were made the order of the day for June 23; after discussing the matter, the Board adopted the following resolution:

Resolved that the preparatory department be raised to two years instead of three, that the rule heretofore established for admission in the preparatory department be strictly enforced, and that when there are children in the preparatory department who are incapacitated [sic. incapacitated] from any cause to make such advancement in education as to give hope of their ever entering the collegiate department they be dismissed from the preparatory department as that department is not intended to take the place of common school but to prepare children for the University.³⁸

In accordance with this resolution the first year of the preparatory department was dropped, and the result was immediately to be seen in the enrollment. During the academic year 1867-1868, the collegiate department showed an aggregate of 100 students, the normal 103, and the preparatory 232, with only 14 irregular students listed.³⁹

This act, however, did not quiet complaints about the preparatory department. In March, 1868, the University became the subject for severe criticism from the Davenport *Gazette*. In answer, C. A. Eggert published a long letter pointing out that it was only the preparatory department the *Gazette* was attacking and that this department would be abolished as soon as the high schools could take over the work.⁴⁰ At the meeting of the trustees the following June, the member of the Board of Trustees from Iowa City moved that the department be abolished, but the motion failed to carry.⁴¹

If the preparatory department could not be abolished, there were other ways the governors of the University might try to deal with the opposition it aroused. In September, 1868, James Black assumed the presidency of the University. Like Amos Dean, Silas Totten, and Nathan Leonard, he might object to the preparatory department, he might recognize that it mitigated against the welfare of the University, but he, too, found that it could not be dispensed with. But he did contrive to abolish the name. On June 29, 1869, the Board of Trustees adopted the new course of study by President

³⁸ Minutes of the Board, June 23, 1867, p. 270.

³⁹ *University Catalogue*, 1867-68.

⁴⁰ *Iowa City Republican*, Apr. 8, 1868.

⁴¹ Minutes of the Board, June 23, 1868, p. 302.

Black. Although no mention is made in the minutes of the changes proposed, it is clearly shown that the Board understood that the preparatory department was to be altered. A few days after adopting this course of study the Board agreed to a resolution stating that since Professor Ebersole had been deprived of his position as assistant instructor of ancient language, he was to be reappointed to teach "introductory classes."⁴²

Just what this new course of study involved is revealed in the catalog printed shortly after this Board meeting. "At a late meeting, the Board of Trustees ordered the discontinuance of the Preparatory Department as such, but provided for instruction in its more advanced studies by placing an additional year to the Collegiate Course. To meet the wants of those students who may not have in the public schools the means of preparing for admission to the Collegiate Department, as now arranged, Introductory classes will be formed for instruction in the more important of the remaining studies of the former Preparatory Course."⁴³ Thus, by making the collegiate course five years in length and by adding what the president chose to call an "Introductory class," the old preparatory department was discontinued in name. Thenceforth, although the "Introductory classes" were popularly referred to as the preparatory department, the actual words were never again to profane the University catalog.

A few weeks after this ostensible abolition of the preparatory department of the University, the Iowa City School Board voted to discontinue the "high school" which had been established a few years before. The Board justified its action on the grounds that the high school cost too much and that all the work which it offered could be secured either in the Iowa City Academy (a private school) or the preparatory department of the University.⁴⁴ Even before the Board's letter of explanation had appeared in the *Iowa City Republican*, the editor of the *State Press* had raised an indignant protest. He insisted that Iowa City should have a high school, that the abolition of the preparatory department of the University made it necessary. The high school should, he declared, prepare students for the University. "It can be easily arranged," he asserted, "so soon as the University course shall be permanently adjusted that this Academic curriculum shall terminate the work of education at that point where the University begins. Each can

⁴² *Ibid.*, June 29, 1869, p. 334; July 1, 1869, p. 341.

⁴³ *University Catalogue*, 1868, 43.

⁴⁴ *Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 11, 1869.

thus be complete in itself and the Diploma of the City Academy can carry its possessor into the first classes of the University."⁴⁵

The abolition of the Iowa City high school also provoked a spirited letter from Gustavus Hinrichs of the University faculty. Hinrichs stated that the preparatory department was simply a temporary arrangement, that it had already been reduced to one year, and that the introductory classes were provided only for students who came from the newer parts of the state. He contended that the high school should serve as a connecting link between the elementary schools and the University. Because Johnson County insisted on using the preparatory department of the University as a high school, the legislature was exceedingly reluctant to provide the University with adequate financial support. The suspension of the Iowa City high school was a serious menace to the rapid development of the University, for it would lengthen the life of the preparatory department. "If the University, freed from this terrible encumbrance, can devote its very limited funds to the legitimate object of High Collegiate and Professional training, students will flock hither from all parts of this and adjacent states, and Iowa would soon become a rival of Michigan." Three days after Hinrich's letter appeared, the Iowa City School Board by a special vote rescinded the motion to abolish the high school.⁴⁶

The attempts to shorten the preparatory course and to maintain the high school in Iowa City are not the only indications that there were many influential people who looked forward to a more clearly defined system of education in the state, a system which would reveal the relationship of the University and the other public schools. When the Board of Trustees met in Des Moines in December of 1869, it resolved that "in the report of the Board to the legislature Dr. Black be instructed to incorporate in said report a suggestion pertaining to the status of the University toward the Public School system of the state that may extend the usefulness of the instruction and more efficiently result in the educational advantages of the whole people of the state."⁴⁷ This President Black did. In the "Report of the Trustees" he stated that the lower class of the preparatory department had been dropped because the subjects taught there belonged properly to the high

⁴⁵ Iowa City Press, July 14, 1869.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1869. The letter was dated Aug. 9. Iowa City Republican, Aug. 18, 1869.

⁴⁷ Minutes of the Board, Dec. 22, 1869, p. 345.

schools, and the upper class had been attached to the collegiate department. Black insisted that in making the changes the Trustees had kept in mind "the place of the University in the system of State Education of which it is a part. . . ." Furthermore, in discussing the needs of the University, Black insisted that the University crowned the educational system of the state and that it should be so recognized.⁴⁸

In his report for the same year, A. S. Kissell, Superintendent of Public Instruction, devoted considerable space to describing the attempts to secure a unification between the high schools and the colleges in Illinois under the leadership of Newton Bateman. He then called attention to the relationship between the high schools and colleges in Iowa. Each unit, he pointed out, must do its own particular work without encroaching upon the sphere of the other. The educational system in Iowa was far from realizing this aim, for "many of the graded schools and High Schools adopt courses of study which in no way harmonize with the curriculums of these higher schools." Kissell complained that all too often the teachers in these high schools did not encourage the pupils to go further than such schools allowed, and he sounded the note, now grown so familiar: "Every teacher in a high school should encourage his pupils to higher and more diligent efforts in the pursuit of knowledge, and the university and colleges should be stimulants to pupils in lower schools, and awaken within them aspirations for higher culture."⁴⁹

This agitation was not without some effect, for the Thirteenth General Assembly in 1870 drew up and adopted a new law for the government of the University and for the first time essayed definitely to fix the relationship of the University to the high schools of the state. "The University, so far as practicable, shall begin the courses of study, in its collegiate and scientific departments, at the point where the same are completed in the high schools; and no students shall be admitted who have not previously completed the elementary studies in such branches as are taught in the common schools throughout the State."⁵⁰ In adopting this law, the legislature gave definite legal sanction to the belief which had so long been held that the University was the head of the public school system.

⁴⁸ "Report of the Board of Trustees," *Legislative Documents*, 1870, Vol. I, 24ff.

⁴⁹ "Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Legislative Documents*, 1870, Vol. I, 27, 28.

⁵⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1870, Chap. 87. See appendix.

When the law of 1870 was adopted, it was in many ways an act of sheer optimism to insist that the University should begin its work where the high schools left off. There were only forty-one high schools in the state in 1871, and of these only twenty-three had well-defined courses of study; no high school course of study was devised primarily for the purpose of preparing students for the University.⁵¹ Hence the problem of connecting the University and the high schools even after 1870 involved a great many compromises on the part of both institutions. Articulation, such as it was, was brought about by the leaders in secondary education in the state, working through the Iowa State Teachers Association, the Board of Regents of the University, the faculty of the University, and the newspaper editors of the state. No one group can be given all credit for the work. It was the result of cooperation and compromise, and it was done in the face of great material difficulties.

The impulse toward standardizing the secondary schools found its first expression in the Iowa State Teachers Association. In 1871 a committee of that organization, made up of representatives of the high schools, the academies, the colleges, and the State University, arranged a course of study for secondary schools in the graded systems. The work of this committee was entirely without legal standing, but it focused attention upon the problem of standardizing the high schools so that they might prepare students for college. It meant that the high schools had begun to incorporate a function which had formerly belonged to the academies. At the June, 1872, session of the Board of Regents, the problem of the relationship between the high schools and the University was discussed. In order to effect a working basis of articulation between the two, the Board adopted the following resolution: "The academical faculty may admit to the various classes without examination students from such schools or academies as in their judgment offer sufficient facilities for preparation, but this privilege shall be withdrawn from any school found to be deficient in this respect."⁵² Thus the Board placed in the hands of the faculty the power necessary for them to begin seriously to cooperate with the Iowa State Teachers Association and

⁵¹ Clarence R. Aurner, *History of Education in Iowa* (5 vols., Iowa City, 1915), 3:223. See also Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa*, 39, 105. Parker asserts that before 1870 the word "high school" had no definite meaning in the state.

⁵² Minutes of the Board, June 21, 1872, p. 406; Aurner, *History of Education in Iowa*, 3:225. On pp. 305ff, he presents the courses which this committee devised for two, three, and four-year high schools.

the high school officials of the state in the work of connecting high schools and the University.⁵³

At the annual meeting of the Iowa State Teachers Association, held late in the summer of 1872, Professor Fellows, who had been elected president of the organization, devoted his inaugural address to a consideration of the relations between the schools of the state. The address was referred to a committee of which Professor Parker, also of the University, was a member. The committee reported in part, "That the munificence of the Federal and State Governments in the creation and support of State Universities has been timely and wise, that the growth and influence of these institutions have been gratifying, and that we welcome them as the crown and glory of our public school system."⁵⁴ The adoption of this report by the convention placed the Association on record as definitely espousing the plan of the unified system of education — a matter which was greeted with joy in University circles. President Thacher, in a letter to the *Iowa School Journal*, announced with delight the recent ruling of the Board with reference to the admission of properly certified high school graduates, pointed with pride to the fact that this arrangement was in entire agreement with the action of the State Teachers Association in recognizing the University as head of the public school system of the state, and invited the superintendents and principals of the high schools to investigate the proposition at once.⁵⁵

The actual articulation of the high schools and the University was not a thing accomplished by passing resolutions and adopting reports, however. It required a great deal of work on the part of the faculty of the University, and on the part of the secondary teachers. It also required vast improve-

⁵³ In March, 1873, Dr. Thacher presented the following motion which changed slightly the rule of the preceding June: "Resolved that the action of this board in June, 1872, in reference to this admission of students from the Schools and Academies of the state is hereby repealed and that the following rule be adopted. The Academical faculty may admit to the academical department students from such schools and academies in Iowa as in their judgment offer sufficient facilities for preparation on condition that the applicants for admission present certificates of qualification from the principal of their respective schools but this privilege shall be withdrawn from any school or academy found deficient in the facilities named above." Minutes of the Board, March 5, 1873, pp. 426-7.

⁵⁴ *University Reporter* (Iowa City), 5:4 (October, 1872).

⁵⁵ *Iowa School Journal*, 14:94-5 (October, 1872). The *Iowa City Republican* in an editorial comment had given a favorable reception to this action of the Board even before the state teachers had adopted their resolution. *Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 21, 1872.

ments in the educational facilities of the state. Early in 1873 a high school committee of the University faculty was "instructed to ascertain what arrangements can be made for visiting the various schools." Two weeks later the committee returned the melancholy report that since no funds had been provided for this work, and since none was available, the matter had best be dropped. But if faculty members did not possess funds sufficient to enable them to travel about the state investigating high schools, they were nevertheless active during the next few years. In May of 1873, "upon favorable reference to our city High School by members of the faculty, Professor Currier was appointed a committee to visit the school to examine its status with a view to allowing the high school the same privileges of preparing for our Freshman Classes as is granted to the City Academy." One week later, upon receiving a "favorable report" from Currier, the faculty voted to admit students from the Iowa City high school to the sub-freshman class of the University provided they presented certificates from the principal of the high school. In June of the same year the faculty resolved "that students bearing certificates from Professor E. C. Ebersole of Cedar Rapids of having completed any of our preparatory studies shall be credited for the same here without examination, except as regards the last term of preparatory German."⁵⁶

The practice of taking the case of each school under advisement and then rendering a decision on it was not entirely satisfactory. In May of 1874 the faculty, thinking to systematize the process, adopted a resolution providing that "admission to the Freshman Class shall be granted to all applicants bringing certificates of qualification from those high schools and academies whose course of study embraces the required branches and the quality of whose instruction shall be approved by the faculty." The faculty then appointed a committee, made up of Professors Leonard, Currier, and Eggert, to prepare a plan for carrying out the resolution.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, during the ensuing years the faculty continued to recognize individual schools as qualified to prepare students for the University.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Faculty, Book A, 336; Apr. 25, 1873, p. 337; May 23, 1873, p. 337; May 30, 1873, p. 338; June 13, 1873, p. 339.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1874, p. 358.

⁵⁸ The Faculty Minutes reveal that the faculty accepted the following schools as qualified to prepare students for the University: Washington Academy for sub-freshman class, May 7, 1875; Springdale High School "for work done preparatory to our sub-freshman year," June 2, 1876; Hampton (Franklin County) for proficiency in any

The faculty of the University was not compelled to work alone in the project of articulating high schools and University. A number of the University professors, notably Currier, Parker, and Fellows, had long been active in the Iowa State Teachers Association. The faculty regarded this Association as best fitted to bring about the practical unification of the educational system. In 1874 the subject was once more brought up in the state convention, and, after discussion, the convention adopted a resolution acknowledging the importance of the work which the University was doing in unifying the educational system.

Whereas public high schools have been established and are vigorously maintained in the principal cities and towns of the State as a natural local head of the free school system and constitute an essential link in it, therefore,

Resolved, That high schools should be encouraged to take the rank of academies and seminaries in the preparation of students for the ordinary duties of life and in fitting them for the University;

Resolved, That we recognize the recent action of the officers of the University as an important movement in this direction.

The Association then went on to appoint a committee "to devise and recommend the best means for the speedy and complete unification of our school system and to report at our next annual meeting."⁵⁹

The committee faced a difficult situation. President George Thacher pointed out in September, 1875, that there were only forty-one high schools in the state, and of these only fifteen were able to prepare students for the freshman class of the University. Students who came from these favored districts could enter the freshman class of the University, but most of the students in the University entered the collegiate department from the preparatory department. Of the eighty-six freshmen of the preceding year, sixty-nine had entered the collegiate department through the preparatory department, and each of the other seventeen was obliged to pursue some sub-freshman subjects in order to make up previous deficiencies.⁶⁰

sub-freshman study, June 9, 1876; the Iowa City Academy as preparatory to the Freshman Class of the University, and the Mitchellville Academy, June 7, 1878; the Decorah Institute, Aug. 1878; and Council Bluffs Academy, Sept. 13, 1879. There is no reason to believe that this constitutes a complete list of the schools so accredited.

⁵⁹ *Common School*, 2:4 (1875).

⁶⁰ "Report of President Thacher to the Regents," *Legislative Documents*, 1875, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 6-8.

The discouraging picture of secondary education was abundantly verified by the committee of the Association when it reported in 1875. The committee report, the work of a group of educators representing the entire state, asserted that it found scarcely a trace of anything worthy of being called a system. The schools had no uniform courses of study and no two of them were alike. Moreover they bore out Thacher's declaration that only fifteen of the high schools in the state were qualified to prepare students for the University, that the University could not make Greek a prerequisite to the college because in many schools the language could not be taught. This condition derived from the school law which allowed the various communities to determine by vote whether certain subjects were to be taught. Furthermore, the committee found the same lamentable condition to obtain in 1875 which had caused Superintendent of Public Instruction Kissell such grave concern in 1870. The teachers in the high schools were not attempting to point their students to the University. In fact there seemed to be in many high schools a feeling "of indifference or of virtual opposition to colleges." In few of the high schools did they find enough students anxious to pursue college work to undertake preparation for it. This condition was either the result or the cause of the attitude in the high schools which the committee found so objectionable. The committee was profoundly discouraged with its findings, and declared that only time could remedy the situation, since the local communities could not be forced to provide an education for which no demand was made. In conclusion, the committee asserted that it was "compelled to conclude by affirming the impossibility of devising the means of a speedy and complete unification of our public schools."⁶¹ This report illustrates clearly the wide gap between theory and practice in Iowa in the middle seventies. The high schools had not yet succeeded in assuming the work of the academies.

Another committee of the Iowa State Teachers Association, possessing a different personnel, was assigned to make a further report in 1876 on the prospects of unifying the system. This committee, made up of L. E. Parker of Iowa City, S. J. Buck of Grinnell, C. W. Von Coelln of Waterloo, J. H. Thompson of Des Moines, and J. E. McKee of Washington, submitted a report drawn up by three of its members. More optimistic than their predecessors, they recognized the failure of the high schools of the state to con-

⁶¹ *Common School*, 3:29-30 (1876).

nect with anything above themselves, and the general lack of uniformity among the various systems, but, unlike the committee of the year before, had suggestions to offer and held out hope for the immediate future. Admitting that the condition was bad, they insisted that it could be worse, and urged that each public school officer do all that he could to bring about a practical uniformity between high schools and colleges whenever it could be done without violating local sensitivity. In summing up the movement toward unification between high schools and colleges, and between the high schools and the University, Professor Parker, who was himself exceedingly active in the work, wrote: "No high school courses were created primarily to connect the lower with the higher education, yet many were modified for the purpose. In some college towns they were affected by the preparatory course of the local college. College and university conditions were materially influenced by high school possibilities."⁶²

While the Iowa State Teachers Association was showing an active interest in effecting articulation between the secondary schools and the universities and colleges of the state, the University officials were by no means inactive. In June of 1876 the general faculty voted to appoint a committee to prepare a circular concerning the relation of the high schools to the University. Their report was made and accepted by the faculty one week later, and it reached the Board of Regents the next day.⁶³ This report, together with the resolution offered two days later by Thacher, was referred to the Committee on Course of Study.⁶⁴ Two days after receiving Thacher's resolution, the chairman of the Committee submitted a report which was adopted by the Board.

Your committee to whom was referred the resolution of President Thacher, and the communication of Professor Parker, relating to the admission to the University of students duly certified by teachers of High Schools, such teachers to be selected [approved] by the Faculty or Regents of the University, have considered the same and beg leave to report:

⁶² Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa*, 105.

⁶³ Professors Hinrichs and Parker were appointed such a committee. Minutes of the Faculty, June 9, 1876, p. 414.

⁶⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents, Book B, p. 6, June 19, 1876 (MSS, University Archives). The committee on Course of Study was made up of Regents Kirkwood, Ross, and the president of the University, George Thacher.

The University is properly a part of the school system of the state, and until its connection with that system shall have been defined and fixed, its stability will not be assured, nor will its capacity for usefulness be fully developed. As a means to both these very desirable ends, your committee recommend the passage of the following resolutions:

1. That the candidates will be admitted to the Freshman class without examination who shall present certificates from the principal of any High School organized under the School law of this State, showing that such candidates have studied in such High School the Sub Freshman or Preparatory studies, Classical, Philosophical, Scientific or Civil Engineering, prescribed for the Sub Freshman classes in the University Catalogue for 1875-6, and having attained the standard of scholarship in such studies therein prescribed.

That the Secretary be instructed to furnish each High School a copy of this preamble and resolution, and also five copies of the Catalogue for 1875-6, and that he also furnish to the press of the city for publication a copy of this preamble and resolution.⁶⁵

The desire of the Board of Regents to effect a working arrangement with the high schools was further shown at the next meeting when the Superintendent of Public Instruction, C. W. Von Coelln, introduced a resolution requesting the faculty so to arrange the course of study that students could enter the freshman class without two years of preparatory German.⁶⁶ This admirable attempt to compromise one of the difficulties of articulating the high schools and the University was taken under consideration by the faculty, and made the special order of the day for the faculty meeting of April 13. After discussing it fully the faculty determined that the conditions which then obtained for admission "secured the end proposed by the re-

⁶⁵ Minutes of the Board of Regents, Book B, p. 17, June 21, 1876.

⁶⁶ The resolution introduced by Von Coelln is as follows: "Whereas the high schools of the state find it difficult to provide German instruction required by the present preparatory course for the University and whereas even other studies in mathematics and science are taught in many of the high schools of the state which are now a part of the college course of the University — Resolved: That the faculty of the Academical department be requested to consider the question whether German cannot be omitted from the first sub-freshman year and other studies substituted so as to include some of the freshman studies in the second year and continue German during the two terms of the Freshman year. Resolved: That the faculty be authorized to change the course in the next catalogue to conform to this suggestion, provided they find it advisable." Minutes of the Board of Regents, Book B, March 7, 1877, p. 28.

gents, and Professor Leonard was requested to prepare a note for the forthcoming catalogue clearly explaining this fact."⁶⁷

At the same meeting in which Von Coelln proposed modifications in the entrance requirements to the University, Regent Parr proposed a resolution which slightly changed the general provisions dealing with the relations between the high schools and the University.⁶⁸

In June, 1877, the Board of Regents called for and received the resignation of George Thacher. They then appointed Christian W. Slagle, a member of their own body, president until a suitable man could be found. Slagle had been a member of the governing board of the University from 1868 until he was selected to act as president. A lawyer by profession, he was a public-spirited man who, during the years of his membership on the Board, had constantly urged the need of closer relationship between high schools and the University. In the summer of 1877 he prepared a circular which was distributed at teachers' institutes. Writing to a friend, under date of August 1, he asserted that he wanted to get the subject of the University before the teachers of the state. "As a regent of the institution," he wrote, "one of my hopes has always been that some plan by which the public school system of our state and the University should be made to work together, and thus have a complete educational system worthy of Iowa." He asserted further that he should like the University to "get hold of the hearts of our people and do the work for the state as it is done in Michigan."⁶⁹ Thus Slagle, as president, continued the work which the Board now actively sponsored, demanding and securing the support of the faculty of the University and the Iowa State Teachers Association.

⁶⁷ The Minutes of the Faculty, Book A, Apr. 13, 1877, p. 434. It should be added that in the vote which was taken on this resolution of the Regents, Professor Eggert protested because he considered the proposal made by the Regents entirely feasible and was unable to perceive how the present arrangements for admission secured the end sought.

⁶⁸ The Parr Resolution, adopted without arguments on the part of the Board, is as follows: "That the candidates will be admitted to the Freshman Class without examination who shall present certificates from the principal and president of the Board of Directors of any high school recommended as such by the Faculty of this University, showing that such candidate has studied in such high school the sub-freshman or preparatory studies, classical, philosophical, or Civil Engineering prescribed for the Sub-Freshman classes in the University catalogue of 1875-6 and have attained that standard of scholarship therein prescribed." Minutes of the Board of Regents, Book B, March 7, 1877, p. 28.

⁶⁹ Letter to Professor E. Baker, Oskaloosa. Quoted by James F. Wilson, "Christian W. Slagle," *Iowa Historical Record*, 3:529-43 (October, 1887).

When a new president was employed at the end of the year, he was selected, according to the statement of the Board, as a man well fitted to complete the work of unifying the high schools and the University. Josiah Pickard, who had been active in the secondary school work in Illinois and Wisconsin, assumed his duties as president of the University in the summer of 1878. It is true that he did much to continue the work which had been begun, but it is not true, as has often been asserted, that he brought about a unification of the high schools and the University. The idea had been conceived and accepted before the fifties ran out, and the general pattern was established by the time Pickard arrived in Iowa City. Professor Nathan R. Leonard has very well summarized Pickard's contribution: "He doubtless contributed to such salutary changes as were made, but for the most part his contributions were in the nature of the adoption or the carrying out of plans of which he was not the originator. The historic development of the University was in progress and falling in with it his position was such that his was the usufruct of advancement that was made, so far as reputation was concerned."⁷⁰ Thus it was that during the seventies the foundations of the educational pyramid were laid and the plan was sketched. Time, prosperity, and social consciousness combined to carry the structure to completion.

During the period of the seventies, while the work of unifying the high schools and the University was going on, the preparatory department became more and more the object of severe and often unfair criticism. It will be remembered that it had been ostensibly abolished in 1869 by lengthening the collegiate course to five years and forming an introductory class. In his report to the Regents in 1871 President Thacher explained that the collegiate course required five years. This condition existed from necessity, not from any desire on the part of the faculty.

The boys and girls have only very poor advantages in the public schools of the state for pursuing the studies preparatory for the Freshman year. They come to us earnestly desiring to enter the University. It would be in the last degree unwise to refuse them admission. The time has not come for that, and will not have come until the standard of instruction in the primary and high schools shall have been raised far above its present grade. The

⁷⁰ Autobiography of Nathan R. Leonard, MSS, p. 44; examined and used through the courtesy of his son, L. O. Leonard.

only remedy for the evil is to supply *in the university* the facilities which they cannot enjoy at home. Unless we would largely diminish our numbers and deplete our classes we must furnish in our own recitation rooms the preparatory instruction which ought to be provided in every large town, or, certainly, in every county of the State. The Sub Freshman is therefore, at present, a necessity from which there is no escape that would not involve serious detriment to the important educational interests for the state for which the University exists. As soon as the Academical course can be limited to *four* years without manifestly greater loss than gain, it should be promptly done.⁷¹

Thacher might point out the immediate and undeniable necessity of providing preparatory work in the University, but the department was often subjected to attacks by the sectarian schools and politicians. This almost constant criticism during the seventies explains in part the eager interest of the faculty and the Regents in establishing, as early as possible, a working relationship with the high schools. Meanwhile the faculty did what it could to keep the preparatory department out of the public eye.

In February, 1872, a member of the Iowa College (Grinnell) faculty bitterly denounced the University for preserving the preparatory department under another name, thereby living up to the letter of the law but not the spirit.⁷² How fair the criticism was, and how seriously it was taken by the faculty, is shown by the fact that in the following December, Nathan R. Leonard submitted a paper to the Regents on the subject of the preparatory work. The first item which he discussed was the name by which this part of the University should be known.

We have stricken from our catalogue the name of Preparatory department but have preserved the thing itself under the name of Sub Freshman Class. This action was taken merely to placate those who either from ignorance of the needs of the University or from motives of enmity to the institution chose to make the Department the object of unfriendly criticism. It is not right nor wise in my judgment because it was an act well calculated to deceive the unsophisticated public, leading them to believe that we have abolished a thing which we had retained, and we are charged with the intent to so mislead and deceive, and can make but poor

⁷¹ "Report of the Board of Regents, Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Legislative Documents*, 1872, Vol. I, 58.

⁷² *Iowa City Republican*, March 6, 1872, reprinted from *Grinnell Herald*.

defence. I will say further that the name Sub Freshman Class seems to me singularly inappropriate when its work is to extend over two years instead of one. I prefer therefore for the sake of honest appearances and for appropriateness the name Preparatory Department.

Leonard suggested separate organization for the department. Such organization should render it relatively independent of the University faculty, and should make it self-supporting. He concluded, "the effect of a separate organization of the Preparatory department would be to prevent much of that intermingling of the higher preparatory and lower collegiate work which constitutes the prolific source of much that is annoying in the practical operation of the class system."⁷³ This well-meant advice was received, but no action was taken. The sub-collegiate work continued to be referred to in the catalog as sub-freshman work, while the newspapers referred to it as the preparatory department.

In the summer of 1874 a series of criticisms of the University was printed in the *Iowa City Press*. Written by J. P. Sanxay and J. P. Irish, these criticisms were concerned at first with the University in general; by July the discussion was centering on the preparatory department. The *Press* insisted that the preparatory department was infringing upon the work of the high schools and that the first year at least should be dropped. Irish contended that he was not motivated by any feeling of bitterness toward the University, but that for the good of the institution he intended to continue the agitation against the preparatory department until that part of the University was abolished. He considered this the only method of getting the University to advance and the high schools and academies to assume the responsibility of providing students for the University.⁷⁴

On the other hand the *Iowa City Republican*, in the interest of presenting the case fairly, pointed out that while the preparatory department was an unwelcome appendage to the University, it was, nevertheless, quite necessary to the institution. Most of the students entered the University classes through the sub-freshman classes. If they did not come that way, the *Republican* averred, they would not come at all. Furthermore, the

⁷³ N. R. Leonard, "Letter to the Board," Dec. 24, 1872 (MSS, University Archives).

⁷⁴ Irish, in order to give point to the assertion, insisted that Principals Rogers of Marengo Schools, Witter of Muscatine Schools, Saunderson of Burlington Schools, and Lytle of Oskaloosa Schools had admitted as much to him either orally or by letter. *Iowa City Press*, July 15, 1874. See also, *ibid.*, July 22, 1874.

Republican contended that the preparatory department was virtually self-sustaining and, unless it was maintained, students would go to other colleges which had such facilities.⁷⁵ The argument advanced by the *Republican* was borne out by the editor of the *Iowa School Journal*, who, while admitting along with all the others that the dignity of the University would be exalted without the sub-freshman course, pointed out that three-quarters of the counties of Iowa did not have high schools in which to train students for the University, and that of the denominational colleges in the state, sixteen had preparatory departments.⁷⁶

The newspaper strife over the question of the preparatory department quieted down in the fall, but it did not die until the preparatory department was finally abolished by legislative action in 1878.⁷⁷ The first vigorous opposition to the preparatory department appeared just before the committee of 1874 was appointed. The discussion had begun in July; the Teachers Association appointed the Thacher Committee on High School and College Unification in August of the year. It is not correct, however, to say that the movement toward unification had its inception in these attacks. It is rather that the attacks show how general had become the idea of a unified system, and the Teachers Association was simply continuing a program which had been adumbrated years before. The University officials were keenly aware of the nature of the struggle concerning the preparatory department, and although George Thacher might have proudly boasted in 1870 that the University could no longer be styled the "Johnson County High School,"⁷⁸ in 1875 he felt called upon to present a rather lengthy

⁷⁵ *Iowa City Republican*, July 8, 15, 29, 1874.

⁷⁶ *Iowa School Journal*, 15:279-81 (October, 1874).

⁷⁷ In March, 1875, a letter was printed in the *Iowa City Press*, advocating that Iowa City build a high school to serve the town and the University as a preparatory department. *Iowa City Press*, March 18, 1875. In June the occasion of the publication of the University catalog gave rise to another attack on the preparatory department. Again insisting that the preparatory department was created as an expedient, John P. Irish argued that the need for it was gone, that it should be abolished. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1875. In November there appeared a letter signed "Citizen" in which the author came forward to praise as laudable the desire of the editor of the *Press* to secure a permanent endowment for the University. The author insisted, however, that the legislature was right in refusing that endowment so long as the University continued to support a work which belonged properly to the high schools. *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1875.

⁷⁸ "Report of the Regents of the University, Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Legislative Documents*, 1872, Vol. I, 41.

argument for the preservation of the preparatory department as a part of the University. President Thacher asserted that there were two leading arguments against the preparatory department: it cost too much, and it interfered with the public high schools. The first objection he disposed of by showing that the cost was almost negligible, since it amounted to no more than four mills per household in the state. As to the argument that it "entices from the high schools the promising students thereby exercising a discouraging and repressive influence on the schools of the state," he was more elaborate. He pointed out that there were not more than forty high schools in the state, hence at least sixty counties entirely escaped the "evil of the University." But only fifteen of these schools were prepared to train students for the University, and few students who came to the University from the districts so favored entered the preparatory department. It was from the counties having poor high schools or no high schools at all, he asserted, that the majority of the students of the preparatory department were drawn.⁷⁹

Admitting that a preparatory department "is an undesirable appendage to a college or university and is endured or encouraged only as an unavoidable evil," Thacher urged that it be retained. To abolish it would save the state very little money, and it would increase tremendously the work of the professors of the collegiate department who would then have to tutor many students otherwise taken care of in the preparatory department. "Allow me," he wrote, "to inquire, gentlemen, whether there is any such stress of circumstances as to justify this ruinous policy and most respectfully to suggest that this Board should set their faces with unfaltering purpose against every attempt to cripple this institution under the poor pretense of saving a little money."⁸⁰

But the pleas of the president and the obvious usefulness of the preparatory department were to avail against public sentiment only a little while longer. The preparatory department became a political issue in one sense; in another it stood as a denial of the conception of the unified system of education. A little over two years after Thacher had presented his plea for the preparatory department, and in the face of the united opposition of the Board of Regents, the General Assembly, almost without dissent, passed a

⁷⁹ "Report of the Regents," *Legislative Documents*, 1876, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 6-17.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 10, 17.

bill abolishing the preparatory department of the University.⁸¹ There was then nothing the Regents could do but adjust the University to the change. At their June meeting the subject was referred to a committee made up of Messrs. Duncombe, Ross, and Pickard.⁸² After adopting a resolution providing that "irregular students are entitled to full privileges in their classes and that the professors and instructors shall not discriminate against them in recitations and practical work,"⁸³ the Board went on to consider the report of the committee on the sub-freshman course. After considerable difficulty it was finally decided to drop the first year of the preparatory department in 1878, the second year in 1879.⁸⁴

⁸¹ The bill which provided for the abolishment of the preparatory department was entitled, "An act to prevent the use of funds of the State University for support of the Preparatory Department after July 1, 1879." It provided, "That after the 1st day of July, 1879, no part of the funds belonging to or appropriated for the state university shall be used for the support of the preparatory or non-collegiate course of studies heretofore taught in said university." *Laws of Iowa, 1878*, Chap. 115. Approved, March 25, 1878. This bill, registered as S. F. 311, was introduced into the Senate on March 18, read twice, referred to the University Committee, reported out by that committee on March 20, voted on the next day, and passed, 42 to 2, with 2 not voting. It was adopted instead of an amendment to the appropriation bill restraining the Regents from using any of the appropriated money for a preparatory department. *Iowa Senate Journal, 1878*, 340, 371, 394. On March 22, S. F. 311 reached the House. It was taken up, read a first and second time, and on motion the rules were suspended and it was read a third time, and passed, 80 to 3, with 17 absent or not voting. *Iowa House Journal, 1878*, 543. Thus the bill passed without the sanction of the Board of Regents or the Faculty of the University. It passed because the legislators wanted the University to confine its activities to a specific field, and to cease offering so many advantages in secondary education to the citizens of Iowa City. Gustavus Hinrichs has left an interesting account of the attitude of the faculty toward this activity. Hinrichs had, since the beginning of his tenure as professor, been insistent on the abolition of the preparatory department. He asserted that he had urged its abolition long before the question came before the legislature, but that many of the faculty of the University were loath to see it abandoned. Hinrichs recorded that when the bill was up before the legislature, he was called to Des Moines to testify, and much against the wishes of President Slagle and some of the members of the faculty, he advocated the immediate abolition of the department. Gustavus Hinrichs, *False Statements Made by the Regents* (St. Louis, 1892), 20.

⁸² Minutes of the Board of Regents, Book B, June 14, 1878, p. 84.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1878, p. 88. This motion seems obviously to have been adopted for the purpose of allowing students unqualified for the collegiate department and yet eager to come to the University the opportunity of attending.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1878, pp. 88-91. The secretary was obviously confused as to exactly what took place, since the records at this point reveal only that there was considerable dispute in the Board. Most of it seems to have centered in the question of whether the sub-freshman classes should be dropped one at a time, or whether both should be continued until July, 1879, and then dropped together. By a vote of six to three it was decided to drop the lower class that year, the next in 1879. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Thus, one more step was taken toward the unification of the public school system of the state, an achievement which had been envisaged by Horace Mann thirty-three years before. The law of 1870 had described the relationship between the high school and the University in demanding that the University take the students as the high schools prepared them. The law of 1878 limited the sphere of University activity. Henceforth the students of the University would have to be prepared outside the institution. Many years were to pass before a unified system would be complete from base to capital, but the outline was fixed, and the general relationship of each part to the others was defined.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ As late as 1893 about 40 per cent of the University freshmen were still obliged to make up some deficiency either by a local school in Iowa City or by tutoring. Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa*, 103n.

THE KING ROAD DRAG IN IOWA, 1905-1920

By George S. May*

Thomas MacDonald, the first chief engineer of the Iowa State Highway Commission and head of the United States Bureau of Public Roads from 1919 to 1953, once declared that the year 1904 marked the end of an era in the history of American roads. There had been no important changes in road construction methods for over a century. Macadam and gravel, the two principal forms of surfaced roads, gave adequate service for the type of traffic which the roads had borne up to that time and were the ideal toward which most good-roads enthusiasts pointed as their ultimate goal. But then around 1904 a radically new form of highway transportation began to become less of a novelty on the road and more of a common sight. Whereas in 1895 there had been only four experimental motor vehicles in the country, by 1904 there were 55,290 in actual use. By 1910 a total of 468,500 motor vehicles were registered, and ten years later the figure had risen to nearly 9,240,000.¹

It was soon discovered that the roads of the horse-and-buggy age, even those of gravel or macadam, were completely unsuited to the type of vehicle that replaced the horse in the twentieth century. However, in most parts of the country the good-roads movement, which was some two decades old by 1904 when the automobile forces began to exert an appreciable influence, had little to show for its efforts in the way of obtaining all-weather surfaced highways.² During the 1880's and 1890's, as the cycling craze swept the country, bicycle manufacturers and enthusiasts had set up a loud clamor for road improvements. Great gains had been made in improving road administration. The federal government had been brought

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¹ Spencer Miller, Jr., "History of the Modern Highway in the United States," in Jean Labatut and Wheaton J. Lane (eds.), *Highways in Our National Life: A Symposium* (Princeton, 1950), 102; *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, 1949), 223.

² The best available analysis of the good-roads movement is in Charles L. Dearing, *American Highway Policy* (Washington, 1941), 219-65. Philip P. Mason of the Michigan Historical Commission is completing a study of the bicycle groups and the early good-roads movement, based on important manuscript sources.

back into the picture with the establishment in 1893 of the Office of Road Inquiry, later known as the Office of Public Roads, and finally as the Bureau of Public Roads. By 1904 state highway departments had been created in ten states, including Iowa, and by 1917 all states had some such agency, putting into practice more efficient and modern administrative and engineering methods.³ These were essential reforms, but the dirt road still remained the standard American highway, a fact clearly set forth in the first national road census taken by the Office of Road Inquiry. It revealed that only 7.14 per cent of the country's 2,150,000 miles of rural roads had any surfacing other than their natural dirt.⁴ The modern network of hard-surfaced highways which spanned the nation by the 1930's did not exist in 1904.

The major obstacle blocking construction of surfaced roads in the early 1900's lay in the problem of financing the work. As it developed, the automobile, in addition to furnishing the demand for hard roads, eventually provided much of the necessary money as well, through motor vehicle license fees and gas taxes. At the beginning of the present century, however, nobody realized that such a solution to the financial problem was in the offing. Instead, road policies were postulated on the belief that owners of the land adjacent to a road would, as in the past, continue to be assessed for most of the cost of improvement. The thought of having to assume such burdens did not appeal to the rural population, and when farmers heard such good-roads leaders as General Roy Stone, first director of the Office of Road Inquiry, advocate the paving of most of the country's rural roads,⁵ they naturally became alarmed. Efforts of good-roads leaders to convince the farmer that the economic and social gains of all-weather roads would far outweigh the initial expense to him seem to have been largely unsuccessful.

Actually, the farmers were interested in better roads but from an entirely different angle than that from which the bicycle and automobile forces looked at the problem. Whereas the latter wanted surfaced highways which could be used for travel from city to city and state to state at any time of

³ W. Stull Holt, *The Bureau of Public Roads: Its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore, 1923), 5-9; Dearing, *American Highway Policy*, 54-5.

⁴ John E. Brindley, *History of Road Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 276-7.

⁵ Dearing, *American Highway Policy*, 256n.

the year, rain or shine, the farmers were chiefly interested only in getting their products to a nearby market town, and a good dirt road served this purpose adequately most of the time. An Iowa editor expressed the farmers' viewpoint when he wrote: "The Iowa farmers can not afford to spend \$2,000 a mile for city folks and devil wagons — they simply want a fairly good road to haul their stuff to market and nowadays most of the stuff goes to market on the hoof."⁶ Not until the second and third decades of this century, when the farmers became motorized, was this breach in the ranks of the good-roads forces healed and a united demand made by urban and rural automobile owners alike for hard-surfaced highways.

Iowa provided an excellent example of the problems which beset the good-roads forces in the early 1900's. According to the road census of 1904, the state had 102,448 miles of rural roads, a total exceeded by only two states, Texas and Missouri. Only 1.62 per cent of this mileage could be classified as "improved," that is, surfaced roads. Thus, over 100,000 miles of Iowa's roads were still only dirt.⁷ For several weeks each spring and fall, these roads were impassable, while during the summer any heavy rain would make travel difficult for several days afterward. During a dry spell the roads were dusty, while at all seasons most of them were rough and full of ruts. Under favorable conditions, the State Highway Commission declared, Iowa's dirt roads were by no means bad, "but they are unreliable always."⁸

In Iowa, as elsewhere, the automobile age was just dawning. In 1905 only 799 motor vehicles were registered in the state. Ten years later, however, there were 147,078.⁹ How inadequate Iowa's roads were to meet the needs of this wave of the future was graphically demonstrated in the spring of 1905. Two Oldsmobiles were being raced from New York to Portland, Oregon, with a prize of \$1,000 awaiting the winner. The weary drivers, upon reaching Des Moines, told "a rather pitiful tale of the generally bad roads of Iowa." Well they might, since it had taken them three days to

⁶ Cedar Rapids *Republican*, Apr. 30, 1905. See also Wayne E. Fuller, "Good Roads and Rural Free Delivery of Mail," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 42:80-81 (June, 1955).

⁷ Brindley, *History of Road Legislation in Iowa*, 276-7.

⁸ Iowa State Highway Commission, *Manual for Iowa Highway Officers* (Ames, 1905), 6. For other comments on Iowa's dirt roads, see George S. May, "The Good Roads Movement in Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 36:1-6 (January, 1955).

⁹ C. H. Sandage, *The Motor Vehicle in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1928), 4.

make the trip of about 180 miles from the Mississippi to the state capital.¹⁰

The Iowa farmer was not satisfied with the existing condition of the roads, which frequently made it difficult or impossible for him to market his products at the most favorable moment. But, as Henry Wallace observed, the farmer "has figured up the cost of macadam, of gravel and paving and has concluded that the lowest cost at which the roads generally advocated could be furnished would involve him hopelessly in debt, if not bankrupt him entirely."¹¹ It was reliably estimated in 1905 that it would cost a minimum of \$200,000,000 to macadamize 25,000 miles of Iowa's main traveled roads; the added problem of the absence of road materials in many parts of the state would undoubtedly make the cost considerably greater.¹²

Some good-roads enthusiasts argued in 1905 that the state should finance such a construction program, but the prevailing opinion seems to have been that this plan was impracticable and hopelessly visionary. J. S. Trigg, editor of the farm weekly, the *Iowa State Register*, expressed this view when he told the Iowa Good Roads Association that he thought it was no exaggeration "when I say to you that practically during your life time and I think during the lifetime of the succeeding generation [Iowa] as a whole will never have anything but a dirt road." It was "utterly useless," in view of the expense, for any group to preach road improvement in the state on the basis of macadam roads.¹³ Since this was the case, it was obviously an opportune moment for the introduction of a new road tool which would improve the quality of the dirt road. About this time a Missouri farmer, D. Ward

¹⁰ Des Moines *Register and Leader*, May 22, 1905. For other examples of the difficulties which Iowa's dirt roads presented to owners of motor vehicles, see May, "Good Roads Movement in Iowa," 3-5.

¹¹ Henry Wallace, "Good Roads in Iowa," *Good Roads*, 4:66 (August, 1893).

¹² Anson Marston, in *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society . . . 1905* (Iowa City, n. d.), 76-8. Marston was dean of engineering at Iowa State College and one of the two original State Highway Commissioners appointed in 1904.

¹³ J. S. Trigg, "Cheap and Effective Road Maintenance," *Proceedings of the Iowa Good Roads Association, June 15-16, 1905* (n. p., n. d.), 21-2. For examples of similar views, see John Scott, *Iowa Road Manual: A Digest of the Road Laws of Iowa . . .* (Iowa City, 1884), 12; Thomas F. Cooke, "A Query and a Reminder," *Good Roads*, 4:51 (August, 1893); Cedar Rapids *Republican*, editorial, Apr. 16, 1905; Henry C. Wallace, "A Practicable Road for Iowa," *The Midwestern*, 4:20 (March, 1910). For the contrary opinion, see the remarks of Harvey Ingham and Governor Albert B. Cummins to the Iowa Automobile Club, Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Apr. 15, 1905.

King, began with the zeal of a crusader to spread the good news of the wonders of a road drag on dirt roads.

King was born in 1857 in Springfield, Ohio, where as a youth he became accustomed to somewhat better roads than he found when he moved west and began farming near the town of Maitland in northwestern Missouri. The wretched condition of Missouri's gumbo roads disturbed him as it did most farmers, but King was not content to grumble and let it go at that. On his farm there was a wooden contraption consisting of two halves of a split log fastened together, one in front of the other, about two and a half feet apart. A former tenant had probably used it to level his wheat fields, but after some experimentation King discovered that dragging it over a dirt road following a rainfall smoothed the road surface and left it rounded toward the center. When the road dried the surface hardened, like a child's mud pie. After each such treatment the road became harder, which fact, together with the crown of the road, caused water to run off without soaking in, thus greatly reducing the length of time that the road might be unusable following a heavy rain.

King made this discovery some time in the mid-1890's. For about five years he proceeded religiously to drag a half-mile stretch of dirt road with a team of horses from his own gate to that of his neighbor. Eventually the fame of King and his road spread. In December, 1901, he was invited to explain his work to a farmers' institute held at Chillicothe, Missouri, under the auspices of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture. So convincing was his talk and the tangible success that his method had achieved that the Board of Agriculture hired him to go throughout the state lecturing and demonstrating to people how they, too, could have better dirt roads. Thus began King's public championship of the split-log drag or King Road Drag, as it was called, which continued for about a decade, carrying him throughout the Middle West and beyond and making his name almost certainly the most widely known of all good-roads advocates of the period.¹⁴

Actually, it is incorrect to refer to King as the inventor of the road drag, as the newspapers and many of King's supporters constantly did, and as others have done since. Road drags similar to those used by King had been

¹⁴ *Wallaces' Farmer*, 45:820 (March 5, 1920); King's speech to the Iowa State Farmers' Institute, Dec., 1905, in Iowa Dept. of Agriculture, *Sixth Annual Iowa Year Book of Agriculture . . . 1905* (Des Moines, 1906), 24; and *Manual for Iowa Highway Officers* (1906 revision), 66.

known in the East at least as early as the 1830's.¹⁵ Nor were they unknown in the Middle West before King's day. He himself told of a farmer at Mount Ayr, just north of the Missouri border in southern Iowa, who came down to King's farm when the latter was just beginning on his drag work, and told him of his own similar activities in Iowa.¹⁶ When King's fame spread throughout Iowa, a resident of Le Grand declared that they had been dragging the roads in that township for thirty years, while a former resident of Cerro Gordo County in northern Iowa recalled that back in that county's pioneering days a Mr. Chilson had built and used a road drag on the roads of Clear Lake Township.¹⁷ Thus the King Road Drag was something of a misnomer. Neither his drag nor his method of treating the roads were original with King, but he was certainly the first to make the people of the Midwest generally aware of the drag's usefulness. His importance as a popularizer of the drag is as great as it could have been had he actually invented it.

King always believed that a drag built of split logs was the best. With the flat sides in front, the split logs offered a sharp cutting edge which a drag made of squared timbers lacked. But whether a split-log or a plank drag was used, the method of operation was the same. The drag was set at a 45 degree angle to the center of the road so as to push the dirt toward the middle and build up the desired crown. King warned that a drag should not be made too heavy, since if it was it might gouge the road's surface more than it smoothed it. On top of the drag was a small platform upon which the operator stood. In addition to driving the horses which pulled the drag, the operator, by shifting his weight about on the platform, could control the movement and action of the drag itself. Users of the implement were warned not to attempt to drag more than about a half-mile stretch of road at one time. Since the drag was only seven feet wide, this meant that only half the road was worked at a time, the other half being dragged on the way back. The most effective use of the drag was shortly after a rain, when the soil was still wet. Thus, there was danger that the soil might dry

¹⁵ The *Genesee* (New York) *Farmer* in August, 1838, carried an article describing in detail a device similar to King's road drag. *Manual for Iowa Highway Officers* (1906 revision), 65-6.

¹⁶ *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture . . . 1905*, 24.

¹⁷ *Iowa State Register*, June 9, 1905; *Iowa State Register and Farmer*, Apr. 20, 1906. See also a detailed account of road drag work in Lamoni, in "Has Dragged His Roads for 30 Years," *The Road-Maker*, 4:7 (October, 1913).

out too much to achieve maximum results before the road had been completely dragged, if one attempted to cover a long stretch of road.

King advised those who had just begun dragging operations that it was not until the fourth year that the greatest benefits would be obtained from their work. It was necessary to have patience and great diligence; once or twice over the road in a season would not do much good. For those who faithfully did their work on the roads after each rain, however, King declared there were three satisfactions:

1. The maintenance of a smooth, serviceable earth road free from ruts and mudholes.
2. Obtaining such a road surface with the expenditure of very little money and labor in comparison with the money and labor required for other methods.
3. The reduction of mud in wet weather, and dust in dry weather.¹⁸

In January, 1904, King made his first appearance in Iowa when the good-roads association of Sac County in west central Iowa invited him to demonstrate the use of his drag. The result of his efforts was to transform the highway into Sac City into a road which, it was said, was "so smooth and nice that owners of trotting horses invariably chose the public roads for speedways in preference to the race track."¹⁹

Early in 1905 King wrote to Henry Wallace, editor of *Wallaces' Farmer*, asking him if he thought any railroad in Iowa would be interested in promoting the use of the road drag by sponsoring a demonstration tour along its line. Wallace was already aware of the King Road Drag, considering it a "first-class idea," and he was therefore receptive to King's suggestion. Not long afterward he happened to run into the assistant general manager of the Chicago & North Western Railway, Richard H. Aishton, a personal acquaintance. Upon learning of King's desire to publicize the drag, Aishton agreed to put the resources of the North Western behind him. A tour was arranged beginning on April 10, 1905, at Onawa, proceeding eastward

¹⁸ D. Ward King, *The Use of the Split-Log Drag on Earth Roads* (U. S. Dept. of Agric., *Farmer's Bulletin* 321, Washington, 1908), 14. See also King's speech to the Iowa State Farmers' Institute, Dec., 1905, in *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* . . . 1905, 18-30. Most Iowa newspapers in 1905 printed diagrams of a King Road Drag and instructions as to how to use it. A lengthy review of the subject is found in *Manual for Iowa Highway Officers* (1906 revision), 65-83.

¹⁹ *Iowa State Register*, Apr. 14, 1905.

through fifteen rural towns in central Iowa, and concluding with a stop at De Witt on April 28. A special car took King, Wallace, the latter's son (the future United States Secretary of Agriculture, Henry C. Wallace), Thomas MacDonald of the State Highway Commission, J. S. Trigg, and others to each town for a day-long series of talks and demonstrations of the use of the drag. The railroad paid all expenses.²⁰ This tour was such a success that the North Western considered engaging a man to promote the road drag on a full-time basis. The Burlington Railroad sponsored a similar tour through southern Iowa between October 19 and November 1, 1905, starting in Council Bluffs and taking in fifteen other towns along the line to the east.²¹

Newspapers and the railroads made certain that the tours were well advertised and that King's message sounded sufficiently dramatic to draw a crowd. King, the North Western declared, would expound on his "Hard Earth Road" idea, or, as it is sometimes known, 'Making Road Without Money.' Authorities throughout the Midwest were said to be in agreement "that Mr. King has solved the problem. Those who have heard him say his arguments are convincing, while those who put his plan into operation are enthusiastic and declare that Mr. King did not tell its benefits."²² The *Iowa State Register* urged farmers to attend the meetings. King's "invention is not high flown, not theoretical. What he recommends is cheap, common and practical. . . . If Mr. King can suggest a home-made device that will make the gumbo of Missouri passable, it ought to make the highways of Iowa ideal. Let Mr. King be heard. He has a mission."²³

D. Ward King was indeed a missionary. A special stop in Cedar Rapids was arranged so that members of the Commercial Club could hear of the

²⁰ Henry Wallace, *Uncle Henry's Own Story of His Life: Personal Reminiscences* (3 vols., Des Moines, 1917-1919), 3:97-9; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, Apr. 28, 1905. The complete schedule of the North Western tour included the following towns: Onawa, Odebolt, Holstein, Denison, Lake City, Jewell Junction, Ames, Eagle Grove, Luverne, Bancroft, Rolfe, Eldora, Gladbrook, Belle Plaine, and De Witt.

²¹ Boone *Evening Republican*, May 4, 1905; *Iowa State Register*, Oct. 20, 1905. There appears to be no evidence that the North Western actually hired a full-time drag lecturer. The complete Burlington tour schedule included the following towns: Council Bluffs, Red Oak, Villisca, Creston, Bedford, Greenfield, Osceola, Leon, Chariton, Fairfield, Mount Pleasant, Burlington, Donnellson, Bloomfield, Centerville, and Corydon.

²² Boone *Evening Republican*, Apr. 6, 1905.

²³ *Iowa State Register*, March 31, 1905.

drag's wonders. Those who attended compared the experience to an old-fashioned revival meeting at which everyone present was converted to the gospel of the King Road Drag.²⁴ This was the case at all of the towns on both tours. Everywhere the same pattern was followed. Good-sized crowds of farmers and townspeople met the visitors, sometimes with brass bands, and some of the schools were adjourned for the day to allow the older students to profit from the practical instruction of King and his colleagues. In the morning a meeting was held in the local opera house or other large building, and Wallace, Trigg, and MacDonald gave short talks before King was introduced. Usually in the morning King confined his remarks to good roads in general. Sometimes he turned the meeting over to the audience, letting them discuss, for example, the relative merits of Iowa's old road laws as compared with those of the law enacted in 1902. In the afternoon he described how his drag was built and how it should be used. He then proceeded to demonstrate the drag by going up and down one of the town's streets, which, if necessary, had been put into a state of disrepair in order to show the drag to the best advantage. As the climax of the day's proceedings, the local Commercial Club would announce that several hundred dollars had been raised among the town's businessmen as prizes to the farmers who had the best dragged roads leading into town at the end of the summer. Usually, however, many farmers, without any such promptings, had already promised to try out King's system in the coming months.²⁵

The interest of the railroads in promoting road improvement in this fashion was not unusual. In 1901 both the Illinois Central and the Southern Railway had run "good-roads trains" through the Mississippi Valley and the southeastern states, building model roads, demonstrating a wide variety of road machinery, and stimulating a good deal of good-roads enthusiasm in general. Many other such trains toured the nation in subsequent years. The road-drag promotion of 1905 in Iowa was a modest example of this activity.²⁶ More immediate precedents for such action in the state, however, were the special trains which the railroads had run for some years to

²⁴ Cedar Rapids *Republican*, Apr. 28, 1905.

²⁵ *Iowa State Register*, Apr. 14, 1905; *Eldora Semi-Weekly Herald*, Apr. 22, 29, 1905; Cedar Rapids *Republican*, Apr. 28, 29, 1905; Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Apr. 30, 1905; Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, Oct. 20, 1905; Trigg, "Cheap and Effective Road Maintenance," 22-3; Wallace, *Uncle Henry's Own Story*, 3:98-9.

²⁶ Martin Dodge, "The Good Roads Movement," *Review of Reviews*, 25:69-72 (January, 1902); Dearing, *American Highway Policy*, 231-2, footnote.

promote more extensive dairy production and the use of improved seed corn.²⁷

In return for their sponsorship of these trains, the railroads expected to receive a certain amount of good will, a goal at which they had some success. For example, the *Des Moines Register and Leader*, noting the popularity of the North Western road-drag special, observed "that whatever prosperity may attend its travels is to be credited to the intelligent interest taken in Iowa and the output of Iowa farms by the railway managers of the west."²⁸ An official of the Office of Road Inquiry felt that the example of the road-drag special was one that every state in the country ought to copy.²⁹ Such activities partially offset the bad publicity and ill will that resulted from arguments over high railroad rates.

But there was a further, more immediately practical, reason for the railroad to urge the widespread use of the King Drag on Iowa's rural roads. Representatives of both the North Western and the Burlington frankly admitted that they hoped that the drag would reduce the number of days when the roads were unusable and the farmer could not bring his produce into the railroad depot. The superintendent of the North Western's Iowa division declared that in the spring of 1905 his line was better equipped than it had ever been to handle the state's business. "But five days after the frost went out of the ground, the business dropped off so much that there was not more than thirty per cent of the maximum business left. The business was there, but the farmers simply could not get their produce to the railroads because of the fearful condition of the roads." The railroads' interest was thus basically selfish, but it was an enlightened selfishness since, as they pointed out, good roads meant not only more business for the railroads, but more trade as well for the towns and more security for the farmers.³⁰

The reasons for the enthusiastic support which local businessmen gave to the road-drag movement were similar to those of the railroads. Improved

²⁷ Wallace, *Uncle Henry's Own Story*, 3:79-81, 93-6.

²⁸ *Des Moines Register and Leader*, Apr. 30, 1905. The *Iowa State Register*, Apr. 14, 1905, referred to the "useful and gratuitous service" which the North Western was rendering the farmers.

²⁹ *Des Moines Register and Leader*, May 25, 1905.

³⁰ *Cedar Rapids Republican*, Apr. 28, 1905. For a similar statement by W. H. Manss, industrial agent of the Burlington, see the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, Oct. 20, 1905.

dirt roads into town would make it easier for the farmer to sell his products and buy those of the merchant. In addition, there was the matter of good will involved here, as well. A Boone newspaper told its town's businessmen that promoting road dragging would "let the farmer know the people of Boone are interested in their problems. Boone is not so large a city that it can ignore the farmer trade. . . ." The Commercial Club should furnish farmers with a few road drags, suggested the editor. This would not cost much, "and the club could not invest the money better in promoting the interests of Boone."³¹

If the businessmen of Boone were slow to join the road-drag movement they were in a minority in the state during the weeks immediately following the North Western's tour. J. S. Trigg and Henry Wallace both continued to promote the drag in their publications and on the lecture platform. Pictures and descriptions of the King Road Drag appeared in numerous papers, while for several weeks hardly an issue went by without mention of the increasing popularity of the drag in all parts of the state. King later declared that no one "has done more for me and the roads in Iowa than the newspaper men have."³² In addition to the prestige which the support of the newspapers lent to King's efforts, official interest was indicated by the State Highway Commission. Not only did Thomas MacDonald, Commission secretary, participate actively in both of the railroad tours of 1905, but King was also hired to lecture during the first annual good-roads school for road officers which the Commission conducted in Ames in June, 1905. Those in attendance, it was reported, recognized that in King's method, "or something closely related to it, lies the true solution of the worst part of Iowa's road problem."³³

The enthusiasm which the road drag inspired was contagious. Within a few days after the North Western tour, it was said, "the reception that has been given to it by practical men has been so enthusiastic and the work already under way in consequence is so important that the road making in a large part of the state cannot but be revolutionized."³⁴ J. S. Trigg consid-

³¹ Boone *Evening Republican*, June 20, 1905.

³² Iowa *Year Book of Agriculture* . . . 1905, 25.

³³ Iowa *State Register*, June 23, 1905.

³⁴ Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Apr. 30, 1905. For almost the identical same thought, see Iowa *State Register*, Apr. 14, 1905; Bedford *Free Press*, and Parkersburg *Eclipse*, quoted in *ibid.*, May 12, June 28, 1905.

ered the road-drag movement the most important event of the day. Arguments over tariffs, railroad regulation, who would be the next governor—all were “but wind work compared with the real and beneficent reform which has really come to the state almost unheralded in the matter of improving the highways of the state.”³⁵

The Elkader *Argus* expressed the opinion in May, 1905, that the road-drag movement was already “the strongest ever started in this state.”³⁶ J. S. Trigg estimated that a thousand road drags would be put in operation by the end of the North Western tour, as a direct result of that brief campaign.³⁷ Trigg sometimes allowed his enthusiasm for the road drag to lead him into exaggeration, but in June the northern Iowa division of the North Western, which included less than half of the towns on the railroad tour’s itinerary, reported that 274 drags were operated in and around towns on its line. A survey of sentiment in the 37 towns that the North Western served indicated that in only two had interest in the drag failed to develop.³⁸ There were other concrete evidences of the widespread acceptance of the drag in Iowa during 1905. The Bedford *Times-Republican* began printing an honor roll of all those in Taylor County who used the drag. By November the list included over a hundred names. In September the businessmen of Eagle Grove gave a banquet for fifty farmers who had faithfully dragged the roads leading into that town since the spring.³⁹

The drag’s popularity in Iowa continued to grow in succeeding years. In 1908 King’s system of dirt-road maintenance was officially designated by his own state as the “Missouri Idea,” but although its use in Missouri and in other states was considerable, Iowa seems to have adopted the drag more than any other state.⁴⁰ The well-informed Iowa good-roads writer, Joe L.

³⁵ *Iowa State Register*, June 16, 1905. See also Trigg, “Cheap and Effective Road Maintenance,” 23.

³⁶ Quoted in Des Moines *Register and Leader*, May 23, 1905.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 22, 1905.

³⁸ *Iowa State Register*, June 16, 1905.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, Nov. 10, 1905. For further evidence, see Ida Grove *Ida County Pioneer*, June 1, 1905, and the issues of the *Iowa State Register* during April and May, 1905.

⁴⁰ Walter Williams and Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri: Mother of the West* (5 vols., Chicago, 1930), 2:602. In December, 1905, King referred to speeches he had made in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Nebraska, in addition to his activities in Missouri and Iowa. *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* . . . 1905, 19, 25. In 1906 he invaded Kansas, with notable success. Fuller, “Good Roads and Rural Free Delivery of Mail,” 71n.

Long, told a congressional committee on roads in 1913 that he believed it was safe to say that Iowa had more drags in operation than any other five states combined.⁴¹ King himself several times testified that Iowa was in the forefront in the use of the drag. "I feel that a large share of the impetus that has been given to this movement," he stated, "comes from you Iowa people."⁴²

The results which the drag wrought in the improvement of the dirt roads were, of course, a major reason for its success. Henry Harlow, mayor of Onawa and president of the Iowa Good Roads Association, made a drag after listening to King and began to work on a block of his town's main street that had been virtually impassable. "At 5 o'clock, just four hours after beginning to use the drag, wagons loaded with 4,000 pounds of baled hay were being driven over the block and were making scarcely a perceptible rut." But upon crossing over onto the undragged portions of the street, "the wheels again sank nearly to the hubs in the mud."⁴³ Little wonder that farmers were excited about the road drag as they had rarely been before about any other development respecting the roads.

But results alone were not enough to account for the drag's special appeal, because, as a New England paper, somewhat puzzled at the excitement which King had aroused, pointed out, the idea that a dirt road that was crowned and closely scraped would shed water was scarcely new. In reply, the *Des Moines Register and Leader* acknowledged that this was true, but the real discovery was how to do this "without much labor or expense."⁴⁴ This feature was the key to the road drag's popularity. It was cheap to make and to operate. Any farmer could easily build one with materials to be found lying around his farm. It was so easy and simple to operate that a boy could drag the roads as well as a man, and it was the perfect weapon in the farmer's fight against the good-roads advocates who desired to build expensive surfaced highways. "No complicated organiza-

⁴¹ 62 Congress, 2 Session, Joint Committee on Federal Aid in the Construction of Post Roads, *Good Roads: Hearings Before the Joint Committee . . .* (Washington, 1913), 144.

⁴² D. Ward King, "The Split-Log Drag — Its Use," *Proceedings of the Iowa Good Roads Association, February 7-8, 1906* (n. p., n. d.), 6. See also the *Waterloo Daily Reporter*, Aug. 12, 1908.

⁴³ *Iowa State Register and Farmer*, Apr. 20, 1906.

⁴⁴ Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, quoted in *Des Moines Register and Leader*, May 11, 1905.

tion required, no bonded debt and burdensome rate of taxation, no high-salaried civil engineers, only just some horse sense and gumption applied to an old log, a bit of iron, a saw and an auger, and good roads, good enough for a trotting course, are secured at an annual expense of \$2.40 per mile."⁴⁵

For years the townships had invested in expensive road machines which cost hundreds or thousands of dollars and absorbed all their road funds for a year or more. The agents of the manufacturers were able to achieve impressive results in demonstrations on the roads, but the amateur road makers who had charge of Iowa's roads down into the second decade of the twentieth century found it difficult to get the same results. In their inexperienced hands these huge machines often did more harm to the roads than good. In addition, they were so large that several teams of horses were required to pull them, which meant as many farmers going along, seeing that their teams were not worked too hard, and taking them off the machine as soon as their road taxes were worked out.⁴⁶

The road drag, on the other hand, cost almost nothing, under normal circumstances required only two horses and one driver, and could be operated successfully with little experience. Some people, indeed, were suspicious of it for these reasons, causing one writer to declare "that if the King road drag cost \$300, and required twelve horses to operate it, the implement would be in common use everywhere within a year or two."⁴⁷ However, most road officials were not so snobbish, and soon after the North Western's road-drag special had gone across the state, testimonials began coming in that the humble drag did the same or better work than machines costing many times as much. One county cancelled a \$600 order for machines after seeing what the drag could do.⁴⁸ The *Sac Democrat* reported that road workers in Sac County "all unite in saying that [the drag] is the most economic method of road working that has so far been devised."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Iowa State Register*, Apr. 14, 1905.

⁴⁶ Arthur Pickford, *Westward to Iowa* (Mason City, 1940), 66-7. For an account of an early demonstration of road machinery at a competitive trial staged by the Iowa State Road Improvement Association in 1884, see Scott, *Iowa Road Manual*, 33-44.

⁴⁷ *Brooklyn Chronicle*, quoted in *Boone Evening Republican*, June 1, 1905. When an Iowan announced that he had improved upon the King drag by adding some metal parts to it, the *Tipton Advertiser* observed that you could not "keep Yankee ingenuity down. They'll soon have King's drag as complicated a piece of machinery as a modern road grader." Quoted in *Des Moines Register and Leader*, May 11, 1905.

⁴⁸ *Iowa State Register*, May 12, 1905.

⁴⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, May 19, 1905. See also *ibid.*, June 30, 1905.

During 1905 road dragging in Iowa was carried forward by the voluntary efforts of farmers throughout the state. Aside from the few who won the prizes that were offered by Commercial Clubs for the best dragged roads at the end of the season, the farmers received nothing except the satisfaction of performing a service for the community and for themselves. Typical of the awards which towns offered were those set up in Holstein. The Commercial Club offered \$50 for the best mile of dragged road within six miles of Holstein, and \$25 for the second best mile. On each of the five rural mail delivery routes \$15 would be given for the best half mile and \$10 for the second best half mile of dragged road at the close of the season.⁵⁰ However, during the first year the enthusiasm and pride of the farmer was probably a much more effective incentive than any prize money. Farmers delighted in taking visitors out to see the smooth dirt roads which they were making with their road drags.⁵¹

But the enthusiasm did not last. Even in 1905 it was recognized that the voluntary method of road dragging could not be depended upon another year to get this important work done. Although, as road-drag enthusiasts pointed out, the most effective time to drag the roads was immediately after a rain, when the farmer could not do much work in his fields anyway, it was evident toward the end of 1905 that the volunteer spirit was wearing thin. "People like pay for labor," one farmer remarked. "A little praise don't go far or pay bills." In 1902 the Anderson Act had supposedly inaugurated a new era in which roadwork would be done by men paid by the township and not by farmers working out their road taxes, as under the old system. "Then the farmer was too lazy and ignorant to be trusted with the repairs of the roads," an angry farmer noted. Now he was being coaxed to keep the roads in repair for nothing. Where was the money he had paid in road taxes, he asked.⁵² Road dragging was a job which required constant attention throughout much of the year. Even the most enthusiastic farmer

⁵⁰ Ida Grove *Ida County Pioneer*, Apr. 20, 1905. Only one of the fifteen towns on the North Western tour's schedule failed to raise a fund for prizes of this nature. Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Apr. 30, 1905. Commercial Clubs were not the only ones to offer prizes. In December, 1905, the board of directors of the Fayette County Agricultural Society voted unanimously to reward road drag workers in 1906. This was done, they said, because "Good roads, and their economic maintenance, is one of greatest importance to our agricultural interests, and its proper development." West Union *Argo*, quoted in *Iowa State Register and Farmer*, Jan. 19, 1906.

⁵¹ *Iowa State Register*, June 30, 1905.

⁵² *Iowa State Register and Farmer*, Oct. 20, Nov. 3, 1905.

might eventually become weary of the task unless something more substantial than occasional praise in the papers and the possibility of a prize from a Commercial Club was offered in compensation for his labors.⁵³

In 1905 some local authorities had recognized the justice of this argument and did what they could to help those who dragged the roads. Road supervisors in some townships built drags and furnished them free to all farmers who promised to use them faithfully. Other townships permitted farmers to work out their poll tax with their road drags. This procedure was of dubious legality, but it got the roads dragged by remitting a tax that was always difficult to collect anyway.⁵⁴ A movement also began to secure legislation in the next General Assembly which would require the local governing units to make rebates to any farmers who undertook to drag their roads. This met with opposition from State Highway Commissioner Anson Marston, who felt that unless the law was very carefully worded to guarantee that farmers who received rebates actually made "a real and conscientious" effort to maintain the roads, grave abuses could result.⁵⁵

The solution which was adopted by the legislature in 1906 was to permit township trustees to contract with farmers for road-drag work. This had been suggested in May, 1905, by State Representative M. Z. Bailey of Diagonal, chairman of the House committee on roads and highways, and had received the support of the State Highway Commission, newspapers, and D. Ward King himself.⁵⁶ Under the new law, which went into effect immediately in the spring of 1906, the road superintendent, acting upon the authorization of township trustees, could make arrangements for road dragging contracts with farmers, preferably those occupying land abutting the roads to be dragged. A maximum of fifty cents per mile was allowed for each time the road was dragged, with a limit of five dollars per year per mile.⁵⁷

⁵³ See Anson Marston's remarks in *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society* . . . 1906 (Iowa City, n. d.), 90-92.

⁵⁴ *Iowa State Register*, June 9, 1905; *Boone Evening Republican*, June 30, July 5, 1905.

⁵⁵ *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society*, 92. Marston also spoke for the society's committee on roads and pavements.

⁵⁶ *Boone Evening Republican*, May 24, 1905; *Iowa State Register*, May 19, 1905; *Elkader Argus*, quoted in *Iowa State Register and Farmer*, Dec. 15, 1905; *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society*, 92; *First Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission* . . . For the Year Ending July 1, 1905 (Des Moines, 1906), 73; *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* . . . 1905, 26.

⁵⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 62.

This law, which, it was hoped, would provide a more extensive and uniform system of road dragging than existed under the voluntary method, proved a disappointment. The law did not make it mandatory for trustees to initiate road dragging contracts, and it soon became apparent that not enough townships were taking advantage of the choice that had been given them. The Highway Commission declared in 1909 that the road-drag law had been applied "to such a limited extent that it cannot be regarded as an effective measure." It estimated that of all the road dragging that had been performed since 1905 fully three-fourths had been done voluntarily by the farmers or through the efforts of Commercial Clubs and similar associations. The Commission recommended that the law be made mandatory in application and that the limit of five dollars a year for the dragging of a mile of road be removed, at least on main roads, where more work was required than this limit permitted.⁵⁸

Under prodding from the State Highway Commission and the Iowa Good Roads Association a new road-drag law was enacted in 1911. Trustees were now required to appoint a superintendent of dragging, in addition to the regular road superintendent. The township was to be divided into numbered road dragging districts, and the trustees were to designate from time to time which districts were to be dragged. All rural mail routes and main traveled roads within the township were to be kept up at all times, however. One mill of the township's road taxes each year was to be set aside as a road-drag fund. The superintendent of dragging was to contract with farmers, but no one was to be permitted to drag more than six miles. Written contracts were to be drawn up, and the individual notified by postcard each time he was to drag his road. These cards were then to be returned within twenty-four hours after the work had been done. Fines were to be levied on those who failed to obey orders in accordance with their contract. The maximum payment allowed remained at fifty cents per mile each time out, but the five dollar maximum for the year was removed. Instead, the trustees, at their regular meeting, would pay all claims which had been approved by the superintendent. The provisions regarding written records of

⁵⁸ *Third Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission . . . For the Years 1907 and 1908* (Des Moines, 1909), 22. The commission earlier indicated that the road drag act had had some effect during its first year of operation in spreading the use of the drag into all parts of the state. *Second Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission . . . For the Year Ending July 1, 1906* (Des Moines, 1907), 36-7.

road dragging work were strengthened in 1913, while the county boards of supervisors and county engineers were given responsibility for the dragging of the newly-created county road system.⁵⁹

Prior to this legislation, written drag contracts were virtually unheard of. "Did it never occur to the people of Iowa," a State Highway Commission official asked in wonderment, "that they were paying over a million dollars each year for dragging the roads of the state and scarcely a written record of the disposition of this amount of money?"⁶⁰ Elaborate contracts were now made out and signed in many counties, but because of the multitude of local governing units in the state the uniformity which had been hoped for still was not found. County engineers reported that it was often difficult to enforce road-drag contracts. "The obligations of such contracts seem to be regarded lightly when the holders have other work to do," the engineers complained.⁶¹ Township trustees sometimes were lax in putting the law into effect. The State Highway Commission declared that "there can be no excuse in Iowa for Iowa roads being undragged." The laws were on the books, and the people of every community were entitled to have them enforced.⁶²

The reliance upon voluntary dragging of the roads remained in many areas the only way in which the work was done, however. To stimulate this type of activity, various schemes were employed. Beginning in 1910, with the establishment of the River-to-River Road Association, businessmen, townspeople, and farmers began forming organizations to promote the improvement of roads across the state. Shortly the state was dotted with picturesquely named roads, such as the Great White Way, Waubonsie Trail, White Pole, North Iowa Pike, Blue Grass Road, and many others. Efforts were made to arouse a feeling of pride in a particular road among the residents of the communities along it, and also a spirit of competition between rival routes. It was thus hoped that farmers along the roads would be more eager to drag their allotted portions, either on a voluntary or on a

⁵⁹ *Laws of Iowa, 1911*, Chap. 70; *Laws of Iowa, 1913*, Chap. 122.

⁶⁰ *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 2:6 (March, 1914).

⁶¹ *First Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission [1913-1914]* (Des Moines, 1915), 151. (After its reorganization in 1913 the Commission began renumbering its reports, ignoring the ones that had gone before.) For an example of a county road drag contract, see *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 2:7 (February, 1914).

⁶² *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 3:14 (June, 1915).

contract basis. These efforts were not without success. One morning in June, 1911, for example, all but two miles of a 160-mile stretch of the Waubonsie Trail were dragged at the same time. The farmer who refused to drag his two-mile strip was boycotted by his neighbors during the fall harvest season.⁶³

A second scheme to stimulate renewed road-drag enthusiasm was through the formation of clubs. Around 1910 what became known as the Mount Ayr plan was developed in that town by H. C. Beard, subsequently a member of the State Highway Commission, and others. The plan was to offer prizes to the farmers in the neighborhood with the best dragged road; but in order to qualify, the farmers were required to organize themselves into road clubs. Each club was to take charge of a road at least six miles in length which connected with some other road within two miles of the corporation limits of Mount Ayr. The clubs themselves selected the judges who were to award the prizes. By 1912 there were ten clubs competing for a total of \$400 in prizes, and it was estimated that the members, without any aid from the township or county, had done over \$7,000 worth of labor. The success of the Mount Ayr plan caused it to be adopted by other communities.⁶⁴

Still another method which became popular around 1913 was the holding of so-called drag days. On a specified date the merchants of a town would award prizes in cash or merchandise to the individuals who drove their drags the longest distance to come into town. Governor George W. Clarke proclaimed June 14, 1913, State Drag Day, but many towns held their own days both before and after that date. The results were sometimes amazing. On State Drag Day a total of 166 drags were driven into the town of Diagonal. The east division of the Corn Belt Road arrived in a body of 23 drags, while Washington Township also appeared as a unit, with 38 drags. Earlier, in May, the town of Centerville staged a drag day at which prizes

⁶³ Huebinger's *Map and Guide for Waubonsie Trail* (Des Moines, 1912), 12-16. See also Huebinger's *Map and Guide for River to River Route* (Des Moines, 1910); Huebinger's *Map and Guide for Iowa Official Trans-Continental Route* (Des Moines, 1912); and other such guides.

⁶⁴ "Iowa Road Boosters Hold Big Meeting," *The Road-Maker*, 2:10-11 (January, 1913). The clubs graded and drained their roads in addition to dragging them. Beard's appointment to the Highway Commission in 1913 reportedly stemmed in part from the success of the Mount Ayr plan. *The Road-Maker*, 3:8 (May, 1913). Clubs somewhat similar to those at Mount Ayr had existed earlier in Missouri. See *Elkader Register*, Nov. 2, 1905.

totaling \$2,000 were awarded. A twenty-year-old girl who drove 31 miles with her drag won the grand prize of \$110 in cash and \$9 in merchandise for coming the longest distance. The married women's purse was won by a mother who drove 13 miles with a seven-month-old baby. A six-year-old boy won the prize as the youngest contestant. Altogether, 1,744 miles were dragged by contestants that day. Most astounding of all, however, was the performance late that summer of a fourteen-year-old girl, Lena Maurer of Gillette Grove Township. Determined to win the prize at Spencer's drag day, Lena left her father's farm at 12:02 A. M., and drove 52½ miles, arriving at the courthouse in Spencer about eleven hours later.⁶⁵

These schemes were all successful in rekindling enthusiasm for the road drag, and some people were even moved to express their feelings in music and poetry. At a drag day in Owasa in 1912 seven young girls were the hit of the day (so it was reported) when they sang a piece that one of their fathers had written especially for the occasion. The chorus went:

Dragging the roads, dragging the roads,
 Dragging the roads with the King road drag;
 Hard as a bone, smooth as a hone,
 The roads that lead into Owasa.⁶⁶

This man was obviously sold on the virtues of the road drag, but the time eventually arrived when it was widely realized that his efforts and those of the many others like him were not enough to provide the kind of dragged dirt roads that were needed throughout the state. In 1914 the Polk County Automobile Club sponsored a drag day at the State Fair Grounds, but only two drags showed up. This fiasco moved the Marshalltown *Times-Republican* to observe that "the day of 'road hurrah' is over." Drag days, like the old-time pioneer house raising "bees," were things of the past. "We have come to the serious business of building roads with hard money and main-

⁶⁵ *The Road-Maker*, 3:17 (June, 1913); *ibid.*, 3:10 (July, 1913); *ibid.*, 3:14 (August, 1913). Several changes of horses were made during Miss Maurer's marathon performance.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:10 (October, 1912). Some years earlier, a Missourian had written an elegy to the King Road Drag which began:

If your road is soft or rough,
 Drag, brother, drag.
 Once or twice will be enough,
 Drag, brother, drag.

Paw Paw (Mo.) *Bazoo*, quoted in *Elkader Register*, July 20, 1905.

taining highways as we maintain other necessities and conveniences in a business fashion. . . . Agitation must now give place to planning and action. Good roads will not be made by 'road drag days' and trivialities like that which the farmers of Polk classified and treated as a triviality."⁶⁷

The solution, finally arrived at in 1917 with the adoption of the patrol system of maintaining the roads, was a recognition that the care of the roads was a full-time job, not something men could do in their spare moments. The act putting this system into operation was sponsored by State Senator John W. Foster of Guthrie Center, for many years one of the leaders of the good-roads forces in Iowa. It provided that the board of supervisors in every county was to employ enough road patrolmen to maintain the county roads. These patrolmen were to "give their entire time to road work, from the beginning of the road working season in the spring until its close in the fall of the year and such additional time as the board of supervisors may direct." The duties of the patrolmen were "to drag or cause to be dragged, after each rain and at such other times as may be necessary, all the county roads that lie within their respective sections." This act applied only to county roads, but some additional help was provided for township road officials when another act, adopted in 1917, permitted townships, whenever the regular road dragging fund had been exhausted, to transfer from the general road funds "such an amount as in their judgment will best maintain the township road system."⁶⁸

The adoption of the patrol system was hailed by good-roads forces as one of the most important pieces of road legislation ever passed by the Iowa General Assembly.⁶⁹ Although not all counties immediately complied with the law, the Foster Act was a major step toward a modern road system in

⁶⁷ Quoted in *The Road-Maker*, 5:13 (July, 1914). Drag days continued to be held for a few years. One in 1916 at Malloy attracted 23 drags. *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 4:15 (April, 1916). As late as 1926 the Dubuque Chamber of Commerce awarded \$300 in cash prizes to the road workers who did the best job of maintaining the county's secondary roads, even though these workers were now employed directly by the county. *Ibid.*, 14:11 (July-September, 1926).

⁶⁸ *Laws of Iowa, 1917*, Chaps. 316, 398. Upon the suggestion of the State Highway Commission several counties, including Woodbury, Black Hawk, and Clinton, in 1915 had adopted the patrol system or modifications of it on an experimental basis. *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 3:14 (April-May, 1915).

⁶⁹ See the report of the good roads committee, *Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Iowa Bankers Association, Des Moines, June 14-15, 1917* (n. p., n. d.), 169; "Progress Made in Road Legislation," *The Iowa Magazine*, 1:13 (April-May, 1917).

Iowa. After 1921 it was possible for a township to turn its road work over to the county, and in 1929 the Bergman Act made this mandatory. Thus control over secondary roads was centralized in the same way that control over the state's primary roads was placed entirely in the hands of the State Highway Commission by the terms of the Shaff Act of 1927. During this period, also, the financial problems involved in building surfaced roads were overcome, with the result that the main highways were paved and more and more secondary roads were graveled during the 1920's and 1930's.⁷⁰

Thus ended the old system of dirt roads and volunteer or part-time road work. With it also went the road drag. Although in the 1920's it was still recognized as the most effective method yet devised of maintaining dirt roads, the road drag gradually was discarded in favor of more modern implements. Patrolmen who had to cover many miles of dirt roads found the horse- or mule-drawn drag too slow, while truck-drawn drags moved too fast to achieve the best results. As a consequence, by 1920 the State Highway Commission reported that "the humble split log road drag and its mule team is fast losing prestige in its contest with the light grader and the gas engine as the road patrolmen's 'right hand man.'" The light grader did not produce as good results as did the drag, but it was faster. Eventually, the road drag disappeared entirely from the state's roads.⁷¹

In the spring of 1920, about the time the road drag began to lose ground in face of the demands of progress and efficiency, D. Ward King died. For the last years of his life he had been a director of the Federal Loan Bank in St. Louis and had been largely inactive in promoting the implement which bore his name. *Wallaces' Farmer* commented at the time of King's death that he had "rendered a very great service to the farmers of the entire country." It was unlikely, the journal declared, that any one else had done more than King had to bring about improved dirt roads. The *Clarinda Herald* said that men of King's character "are noted for one reason, because, like the diamonds, they are rare."⁷²

There was a sharp difference of opinion, however, about King and his

⁷⁰ May, "Good Roads Movement in Iowa," 23-4, 29-31, 32-51.

⁷¹ *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 8:1 (April, 1920); Andrew P. Anderson, *Modern Road Building and Maintenance: Principles and Practice* . . . (n. p., [1921?]), 110-11; Bernie Kooser, assistant secretary, Iowa State Highway Commission, Ames, Iowa, to author, May 25, 1955.

⁷² *Wallaces' Farmer*, 45:820 (March 5, 1920); *Clarinda Herald*, quoted in *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 8:9 (April, 1920).

service to the cause of good roads. Although one enthusiastic King fan in Iowa once declared that King had made the greatest contribution to road improvement since John Loudon McAdam himself, the director of the Office of Public Roads, Logan Waller Page, considered that King had "done far more harm than good to the good roads cause."⁷³ For one thing, King was inclined to take himself too seriously and believe that he knew all there was to know about the road drag. He maintained that the split-log drag which he used was far superior to any other type. When the United States Department of Agriculture withdrew a bulletin which he had written on the use of the split-log drag and published another one in which other types of drags were displayed and different instructions for their use were given than the ones King had given, he issued a public protest. The new bulletin, he charged, was full of errors. If some of them were applied, the life and limb of the individuals following them would be in serious danger. In addition, he added, the new bulletin was "obstructing my work and injuring me personally."⁷⁴ In reply, Page answered that the charges were ridiculous. The new bulletin was based on the latest and most accurate information which could be gathered from the experiences of road workers throughout the country.⁷⁵

More serious than these disagreements, however, were King's reckless statements about other phases of road work. These caused Page to declare that King knew "little or nothing regarding the fundamental principles of road building."⁷⁶ King was guilty of raising false hopes in his followers when he permitted such terms as "Making Road Without Money" to be applied to his method. The one lesson that the history of road improvement makes absolutely clear is that good roads are expensive. The road drag furthermore was a maintenance tool, not a road builder. Although it was the cheapest method known of maintaining the dirt road in good condition, it did not remove the need for adequate drainage of the road bed, for road graders, and other road implements. King, however, frequently

⁷³ Thomas D. Murphy, "Good Roads for Iowa," *The Road-Maker*, 1:16 (June, 1912); "Page Replies to King," *ibid.*, 3:14 (December, 1915).

⁷⁴ "D. Ward King Protests Bulletin," *ibid.*, 3:15 (November, 1915).

⁷⁵ "Page Replies to King," 14. Page reported that the earlier bulletin which had appeared under King's name actually had been rewritten by officials of the Office of Public Roads because of the errors which had appeared in the copy submitted by King.

⁷⁶ *Idem.*

made statements to the effect that matters of drainage, for example, could be virtually ignored if one used the road drag. Such a statement caused a heated argument between King and Henry Wallace, who insisted, as did professional engineers, that unless provision was made for the adequate drainage of a dirt road, much of the effectiveness of road dragging would be lost.⁷⁷ King replied, "Men ought to be willing to believe I know something of what I am saying."⁷⁸

But perhaps the greatest harm which the road-drag movement may have done to the cause of good roads in Iowa was in raising entirely ungrounded beliefs that the battle for good roads would be over when the drag was used throughout the state. When the North Western road-drag special began its tour of Iowa in 1905 the *Iowa State Register* printed above its story of this event a headline which boldly declared: "Good Roads Problem Is Solved."⁷⁹ Nine months later the paper was still optimistic, stating that if all of Iowa's dirt roads were placed under the King system of care "the problem of better roads is practically solved."⁸⁰ Extravagant claims were also made as to what the drag could accomplish. State Representative Thomas Geneva of What Cheer maintained that a stone road could not compete with a dragged road, while Henry Wallace told the Cedar Rapids Commercial Club that dragged roads were better than paved roads.⁸¹

Such remarks served to strengthen the arguments of the rural forces in their contention that expensive surfaced roads were not necessary. The road drag may, therefore, have served to delay somewhat the day when a majority of Iowans recognized that surfaced roads were a necessity on the main traveled thoroughfares under twentieth century conditions. In addition, important administrative reforms, such as the creation of the office of county engineer to supervise county road work, were held up for several

⁷⁷ Wallace, *Uncle Henry's Own Story*, 3:98; Professor J. B. Davidson of Iowa State College on road drainage in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Iowa State Drainage Association, Held at Fort Dodge, Iowa, February 11 and 12, 1908* (n. p., n. d.), 75-80. See also Anson Marston in *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society*, 90.

⁷⁸ *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* . . . 1905, 25-6.

⁷⁹ *Iowa State Register*, Apr. 14, 1905.

⁸⁰ *Iowa State Register and Farmer*, Jan. 26, 1906. See also Ida Grove *Ida County Pioneer*, Apr. 13, 1905; Eldora *Semi-Weekly Herald*, May 3, 1905.

⁸¹ *Des Moines Register and Leader*, Apr. 7, 1905; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, Apr. 28, 1905.

years in part because of the belief of some legislators that the road drag had solved the road problem, making further reforms unnecessary.⁸²

D. Ward King, however, whatever his personal idiosyncrasies may have led him to do in other subjects, did not make the mistake of some of his followers in believing that the dragged road removed the necessity for surfaced roads. Although the road drag was his special interest, he also lectured on the need for stone roads. He told the Iowa Good Roads Association in 1905 that wherever land was worth at least \$30 an acre and a good supply of stone was available, "the community that does not macadamize its main traveled roads is behind the times."⁸³ Far from believing that the drag provided the answer to the road problem, King regarded it as a bridge leading to still better improvements. The drag, he told one audience, "keeps the old mud road in the finest condition and creates a desire for the best."⁸⁴

This, after all, was probably the most important contribution that the road drag made to the good-roads movement. During the following years long rainy seasons demonstrated time and again that even the most diligent application of the road drag could not make dirt roads passable at all times. In 1915, for example, during an especially wet summer, the State Highway Commission reported that "the dragging organizations of county after county gave up in despair because of the little results accomplished on roads which never dried."⁸⁵ But the Commission also declared, on another occasion, that "the considerable advance that has been made along the line of road improvement in the state is more directly due to the agitation for, and the results obtained by, the use of the drag than to any other factor."⁸⁶ The drag served to educate the people of the state. By giving them good roads during nine months of the year, it suggested the advantage of good roads the year round. Meanwhile, however, in the transitional years between the old dirt-road era and the modern age of paved highways, the

⁸² See Brindley, *History of Road Legislation in Iowa*, 227.

⁸³ D. Ward King, "Stone Road," *Proceedings of the Iowa Good Roads Association*, June 15-16, 1905, 50. See also *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* . . . 1905, 18.

⁸⁴ Eldora *Semi-Weekly Herald*, Apr. 29, 1905.

⁸⁵ [Second Annual] *Report of the State Highway Commission for the Year Ended December 1, 1915* (Des Moines, 1916), 15. See also Anson Marston in *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society* . . . 1907 (Iowa City, n. d.), 10-11.

⁸⁶ *Third Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission* . . . For the Years 1907 and 1908, 19.

widespread use of the road drag gave Iowa the reputation of having some of the finest natural roads in the entire country.⁸⁷ Iowa's roads, in short, would have been far less endurable in the period from 1905 down into the 1920's, and the movement for better roads would have been appreciably weaker, had not D. Ward King, together with such Iowans as J. S. Trigg, Thomas MacDonald, and Henry Wallace, introduced Iowa to the road drag in the spring of 1905.

⁸⁷ Harvey Ingham, "Good Roads Are Coming," *The Midwestern*, 4:23 (March, 1910). For praise of Iowa's dirt roads, see the comments of the Glidden Tour leader in *Des Moines Register and Leader*, July 22, 1909; John Gibson, "Roads and Automobiles," *The Midwestern*, 4:13 (June, 1910); J. C. Burton in the *Chicago Tribune*, quoted in *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin*, 10:9-10 (November, 1916); and Omaha *World-Herald*, quoted in *ibid.*, 11:2 (June-July, 1922).

IOWA REPUBLICANS AND THE RAILROADS, 1856-1860

*By David S. Sparks**

After its defeat in the national campaign of 1852, the Whig party seemed to come apart at the seams. The disparate elements which had made up the party began to search for new leaders and new issues which might make possible the creation of a new coalition with the power to challenge the hegemony of the Democrats. In the North that coalition appeared in 1854 in response to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Douglas' bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise prohibition on slavery north of 36° 30' brought "Independents," "Whigs," "Americans or Know-Nothings," and "Fusionists" together under an "Anti-Nebraska" banner. Under a variety of names these angry men campaigned to defeat the Democracy which had dared to open to slavery those territories solemnly declared "forever free" only thirty-four years before.

In one state after another in the Old Northwest the Democrats were ousted and replaced by "Anti-Nebraska" factions of one kind or another. Many of these new factions disappeared within a year or so, but in some states they survived to become the Republican party. In Iowa, James W. Grimes was elected governor in 1854 on an "Opposition" ticket and an "Anti-Nebraska" platform. Within two years he had adopted the name "Republican" and was extending a welcome to discontented Democrats as well as to all the other splinter groups, urging them to join the only party dedicated to the single issue of resistance to the extension of slavery.

Grimes was aided in his task by the continued strife in Kansas between the free-state and slave-state forces, which were seeking to win the allegiance of the future state. To the accounts of occasional battles between the two groups the newspapers of Iowa added lurid descriptions of individual murders, street brawls, plain robbery, and fancy horse theft, and treated the whole as "bleeding Kansas," as was the fashion in the Republican press throughout the North. The mixture of fact and fancy was blamed upon

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the insatiable appetite of southern slaveholders for more territory and their callous disregard for the lives or rights of free men.

The careful exploitation of "bleeding Kansas" and the demoralization of the divided Democracy¹ combined to give Grimes and his Republicans an astonishing victory in the state races and to carry Iowa for the Republicans in the national contest of 1856. In their first campaign as an organized party the Republicans won both of Iowa's House seats, all contested state offices, and gave Fremont a substantial margin over Buchanan in the presidential race. But even in the flush of victory, Grimes and his friends saw that the future of the party depended upon finding new and more permanent issues. It was obvious that Kansas would not continue to "bleed," and even if it did, the anger of Iowa voters was bound to fade. Equally dangerous to Republican hopes was the possibility that the Democrats might find either a leader or an issue which would reunite them. Therefore, the Republicans had little opportunity to sit back and savor the fruits of victory. They were forced, instead, to seek out an issue which might take the place of rapidly healing Kansas.

Since few politicians are blessed with an emotion-packed issue like Kansas once in a lifetime, Iowa Republicans could scarcely hope for two in a single decade. Consequently they sought for new issues not connected with slavery but reflecting the more pressing needs of a frontier state. In this respect, Republicans gave timorous support to the old Whig demand for the protective tariff; the frontier demand for cheap or free land was given hearty endorsement by promises to work for the adoption of the homestead idea; encouragement to corporate enterprise and banking was extended, in efforts to delete and revise the constitutional restrictions and prohibitions on corporations and banks; federal grants for post roads and river improvement were called for. But Republicans reserved their special concern for railroads, and great emphasis was placed on promises of aid and support to railroad builders and promoters. This was wise, for the railroad was fast becoming the universal panacea for the American farmer. The lines reaching out along the Great Lakes were bringing prices and products that prairie farmers had never dreamed of seeing in their lifetime. The railroad was also providing new outlets for speculation which assured the interest and support of merchants, land agents, and small bankers.

¹ See David S. Sparks, "The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1850-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:1-30 (January, 1955).

Iowa was a perfect illustration of the special place railroad builders and promoters usually achieved in frontier communities. The mid-1850's saw one Iowa county after another emerge from the subsistence farming stage of development and begin to produce a surplus to be sold outside the home market. Thus the genuine need for improved transportation was coupled with hopes and energies of speculators. As a special fillip to an already exciting prospect there was the dream of becoming a way station on the great Pacific railway everyone was talking about. The result was a veritable mania for railroads in Iowa in the 1850's. Year after year the press was flooded with notices of railroad meetings and conventions. Every tier of counties had its favorite project, and there was hardly a self-respecting town in the state that did not boast at least one railroad company organized by the merchants and bankers of the community. Of course the Democrats and Whigs had long recognized and sought to promote so popular a dream, but the demise of the Whigs and the steadfast opposition of the national leadership of the Democrats to northern railroad plans left the way open for Iowa Republicans to become the champions of the railroads. A very considerable portion of the Republican success in the years between 1856 and 1860 in Iowa stems from a successful exploitation of the state's need for railroads.

Making political capital out of the western demand for railroads was not a simple task, however, for the popularity of railroad promoters and builders fluctuated wildly. The difficulty was rooted in the railroads' search for construction money. Two possible sources of capital existed. The first was the proceeds from the sale of lands. The principle of granting lands to aid in railroad construction had been firmly established by the Illinois Central Bill in 1850. The second possible source of construction capital was direct borrowing. Money might be raised by the sale of railroad bonds, but the speculative character of so many of these enterprises had given railroad bonds a shady character in many money markets. The practice quickly developed of asking a county or town to issue its own bonds, which were then exchanged for railroad bonds or stock. The town or county bonds were then sold in eastern or European money markets for the necessary construction capital. The taxing power of Iowa's towns and counties was considered a better collateral than the earning power of the projected but unfinished railroads. As we shall see, the railroad promoters also cast hungry eyes on the credit of the state itself, but the Iowa constitution forbade the

state to loan money to "any individual or corporation," or to become a stockholder in any corporation. When times were good and construction was moving ahead, the attitude of the public was enthusiastic, and at such times the popularity of the railroads rubbed off on their political friends. But when panic struck and prices fell, the public was quick to remember the mounting debt and the threat of monopoly which the railroads frequently brought in their wake. What had been a political asset then very quickly became a serious liability.

Republican strategists were naturally reluctant to step into so tricky a situation, but they had little choice; no other issue promised one-tenth the political dividends the railroads did. The policy which finally appeared was clearly a compromise. Stated quite simply, it showed the Republicans ready at all times to assist in the winning of federal land grants for Iowa railroads, but determined to resist railroad efforts to use the credit of the state in furthering construction. This policy governed the attitude of the Republican party in Iowa toward the railroads during the critical years between 1856 and 1860. It was admittedly a rather ambivalent program, but it had one supreme political virtue — it accurately reflected the attitude of the majority of Iowans.

The friendship for railroads called for by the Republican strategy came quite naturally to the young organization. Many of the leaders of the new party were closely connected with various railroad enterprises. Grimes himself was identified as a railroad man almost from the moment he arrived in Iowa. As early as 1838 he was urging a memorial to Congress seeking a land grant for a railroad in Iowa.² In 1851 he was a director of the Peoria & Oquawka Railroad which was to be built eastward from a point on the Mississippi River opposite Burlington.³ In the fall of that year he was busy in the state legislature pushing railroad plans. He wrote to his wife: "I have succeeded in the principal object for which I came here, viz., upon the subject of railroads, and, I am told, have elevated the character of your husband as a tactician and parliamentary leader."⁴

In addition to Grimes there were men such as Samuel Ryan Curtis, James Harlan, William Penn Clarke, and Josiah B. Grinnell who were closely iden-

² Fred B. Lewellen, "Political Ideas of James W. Grimes," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 42:348 (October, 1944).

³ Cited in William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* (New York, 1876), 27.

⁴ James W. Grimes to Mrs. Grimes, Dec. 18, 1851, *ibid.*, 32.

tified with railroad building or promotion in Iowa during the years the Republican party was being formed. Samuel R. Curtis was an engineer by profession and a West Point graduate. He moved to Iowa after the Mexican War and soon turned to railroading. In 1853 he had led a surveying party across Iowa to locate the right-of-way for the "Lyons Road."⁵ By 1856 he had been elected mayor of Keokuk and in 1858 was the first Republican to go to Congress from the First (southern) Congressional District.⁶

James Harlan, Iowa's first Republican Senator, appears to have been intimately connected with railroad promoters in the state. In November of 1856 he wrote to Ebenezer Clark, banker of Iowa City:

You will remember, that in a conversation with me last winter, you remarked that if an opportunity should be presented of investing twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars in such a manner as to afford inducements you could furnish the "material aid," etc. The R. R. from [Mount Pleasant] to Keokuk will be permanently located between this and Jan. 1st, '57. It will be built rapidly and completed speedily. I can know *in advance* where the road will be established, and also the location of every *depot*. If this will afford such an inducement as you desire I would be glad to see you this week. I leave for Washington next Monday. This, if embraced, will cost you *one half* of the *clear profits* growing out of the investment. For your security the purchases may be made in *your name* — you giving a bond as per agreement. Please write immediately or come down — the latter if convenient. Should it be impracticable for you to come down previous to my departure, Mrs. Harlan will be able to refer you to a gentleman here with whom all the preliminaries may be arranged, and in whom you can confide with perfect safety. . . .⁷

William Penn Clarke, a Republican prominent in the constitutional convention of 1857, was a staunch defender of the railroads before that body.⁸ Josiah B. Grinnell, Underground Railroad operator, town and college found-

⁵ J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis, 1929), 25. (Hereafter listed as Perkins, *Dodge*.)

⁶ Ruth A. Gallaher, "Samuel Ryan Curtis," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 25:331-7 (July, 1929).

⁷ James Harlan to E. Clark, Nov. 17, 1856, *James Harlan Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City). This letter is a copy, probably made by Harlan's biographer, Johnson Brigham, from the family papers he used during the preparation of his biography of Harlan which was published in 1913.

⁸ His defense included a scathing denunciation of the many minor attempts made to curb the railroads. Erik M. Eriksson, "William Penn Clarke," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22:26-7 (January, 1927).

er, friend of John Brown, and prominent Republican, located his town on a site he had been assured by officials of the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad would be on their line. Grinnell soon became a director for the road and remembered "nearly a hundred stage and hack trips to bring the Rock Island [successor to the Mississippi & Missouri] west."⁹ Grinnell was even more closely identified with the Iowa Central Railroad which he headed for several years before it failed.

The major Republican politicians were not the only party men engaged in railroad activities, however. There were many lesser figures who did yeoman service for both the party and the railroads. Some were young men who would rise to positions of great power in party councils and railroad board rooms. Such a man was Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs. Young Dodge had started out as a surveyor for the Mississippi & Missouri in 1852. When the 1854 panic stopped railroading, Dodge went to Elkhorn, Nebraska, where he pioneered for a year. From there he made independent surveys into the Indian country, becoming an early advocate of the Platte River route to the west. With the revival of railroading in 1855, Dodge went back to work for the M. & M. and was kept busy in the field as a surveyor as well as serving as a liaison man between the railroad promoters and the Republican leadership. It was Dodge who handled the interests of Abraham Lincoln in the Riddle tract in Council Bluffs until that tract was neatly bisected by the railroad.¹⁰

By the end of the decade the group of men identified with both the railroads and the Republican party included men like Hiram Price, H. M. Hoxie, and John A. Kasson. All three were members of the State Central Committee during the early years of the party, and Kasson guided it through the critical campaigns of 1859 and 1860. Hiram Price was for several years connected with the M. & M. and after 1857 was a member of its board of directors.¹¹ Hoxie was close to "Doctor" Durant during the 1850's and followed Durant from the M. & M. into the Union Pacific promotion a few years later,¹² while Kasson became an attorney and lobbyist for the M. & M. in Des Moines.¹³

⁹ Josiah B. Grinnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years* (Boston, 1891), 298-300.

¹⁰ Frank I. Herriott, *Iowa and Abraham Lincoln* (Des Moines, 1911), 89-92.

¹¹ Peter A. Dey to G. M. Dodge, June 9, 1857, *Grenville M. Dodge Papers*, Vol. I (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa).

¹² Jack T. Johnson, *Peter Anthony Dey* (Iowa City, 1939), 117-18.

¹³ Perkins, *Dodge*, 57. See Edward Younger, *John A. Kasson* (Iowa City, 1955).

The Republicans labored under a severe handicap in their early efforts to become the sole political champions of the railroads in Iowa; the Democrats, in power until the upset of 1854, had fought hard for Iowa railroads, and their campaign was not forgotten. Both Senators Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones had devoted a large percentage of their time in Washington in search of the coveted land grants. Iowa's Democratic Representatives had been equally diligent. Moreover, Democrats appeared in railroad circles in Iowa with almost the same regularity as Republicans. Eventually the Republicans found two ways of overcoming the initial Democratic advantage. The first was to make a greater public display of their railroad proclivities than the Democrats did; the second was to pound away at the manner in which the national leadership of the Democracy, under Southern control, killed every effort by Iowa's representatives to win a grant.

A splendid example of the first technique came in 1856. After six years of persistent labor, the Democrats had managed to force through the Congress a bill granting over three million acres of land to the state of Iowa for railroad construction. The Republicans, now in control of the governorship and the legislature, had a field day. Governor Grimes called a special session of the legislature which, after two weeks of oratory ringing the changes on Republican friendship for the railroads, graciously agreed to accept the federal grant. The work of the Democrats in winning the grant for Iowa was neatly obscured.

The second technique used by the Republicans had far greater justification. Even Senators Dodge and Jones admitted that their efforts in behalf of Iowa railroads were regularly thwarted by their Southern Democratic colleagues in the Senate.¹⁴ In both the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses they had devoted a goodly portion of their time to working for additional grants, but without success. Even as a lame duck, Senator Jones carried on the fight.¹⁵ Iowans applauded the Democratic effort but listened to the Republicans who promoted the idea that further grants would come only when Republicans held a majority in Congress and control of the White House. Republican efforts to become the champions of railroads in Iowa were so successful that when the party asserted its independence or antago-

¹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess. (1855-1856), 1166-70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess. (1857-1858), 1580.

nized a company, it came as something of a surprise to the voters as well as to the railroads.

Nevertheless, the bonds of friendship between the party and one or more of the railroads were occasionally strained. Two things seem to have caused difficulty. The first was that the railroads were often desperate in their search for construction capital and tried to push the party too far or too fast. Railroad promoters, faced with the prospect of halting construction, sometimes forgot the necessity for the Republican leaders remaining free of the charge of railroad domination. A second source of trouble between the railroads and the party is illustrated by the controversy over the Des Moines River Navigation Company which resulted in catching the party between the crossfire of two rail groups. Briefly, the Navigation Company trouble centered around lands which had originally been granted by the federal government to the state upon its admission to the Union in 1846. The lands, to aid in the improvement of the Des Moines River, had been transferred to the Des Moines River Navigation Company which contracted to do the actual construction.¹⁶ By 1857 it had become apparent that the railroads rather than the river would carry the freight in the future, so efforts were begun to divert the land grant to railroad construction.

The major emphasis in railroad promotion and building in Iowa up to 1857 had naturally centered upon east-west lines which were pushed as possible links in the anticipated transcontinental line as well as for the direct connection they gave with eastern markets. There remained, however, a very considerable interest in a north-south route which would bypass the Des Moines and Rock River Rapids in the Mississippi and bring the goods of the upper river valley down through Iowa. Naturally this interest was concentrated in towns along the line of the projected road as well as in Keokuk, which hoped to regain in this way some of its former importance as the "Gate City" to Iowa and the upper Northwest. The expected liquidation of the Des Moines River Navigation Company introduced the question of whether its lands would be diverted to an east-west or a north-south railroad.¹⁷ Specifically it became an attempt by the Dubuque & Pacific and

¹⁶ The best general discussion of the project is to be found in Jacob A. Swisher, "The Des Moines River Improvement Project," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 35:142-80 (April, 1937).

¹⁷ For a full discussion of the way this issue became involved in politics see Mildred Throne, "C. C. Carpenter in the 1858 Iowa Legislature," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:34-9 (January, 1954).

the Mississippi & Missouri railroads to keep the lands from being diverted to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad which was reaching northwestward from Keokuk along the Des Moines River. Apparently the Dubuque & Pacific was ready to throw its weight behind Democratic candidates for the state legislature in an effort to halt the diversion to this north-south line.¹⁸ In spite of considerable pressure, both Governor Grimes and his successor, Governor Ralph P. Lowe, stuck to their guns and moved to divert the lands over the protests of the powerful east-west groups.¹⁹

Even though the Republicans were occasionally caught between competing railroads, the problem was not nearly as serious for the party as the one posed by the concerted attack upon the credit of the state made by the builders and promoters during 1858 and 1859. The story grew out of the panic of 1857, which seriously curtailed railroad construction in Iowa. Only 90 miles of track were laid in that year as compared with 186 miles laid down in the previous year. As the depression deepened, construction dropped to a mere 35 miles in 1858. The shortage of construction money was not alleviated by the federal land grants of 1856, for the government was slow in certifying the lands to be granted to the railroads.²⁰ Furthermore, certification depended on the number of miles built each year, and the Iowa roads were behind schedule. Even when they did acquire title, the railroads found it impossible to sell the lands at a good price. The problem of the railroads was further aggravated by the general money stringency which made sale of the bonds voted by the towns and counties both uncertain and expensive.²¹ In the hope that state bonds might find a market where county and municipal bonds had not, the promoters of several Iowa roads began a campaign for this form of state aid, in spite of the constitutional provision against it.

By December of 1858 the railroads had whipped up enough enthusiasm to risk holding a state aid convention in Iowa City. The first resolution adopted by the group summarized the purpose of the gathering. It declared the convention "in favor of a judicious system of State aid to such Railroads

¹⁸ James W. Grimes to C. C. Carpenter, Nov. 11, 1857, *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa).

¹⁹ James W. Grimes to C. C. Carpenter, Nov. 30, 1857, *ibid.*

²⁰ John C. Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City, 1912), 206-209.

²¹ For an excellent discussion of the entire problem of town and county bonds as a source of railroad construction capital, see Earl S. Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:1-34 (January, 1952).

as are of State importance to an amount not exceeding eight millions of dollars," and asked the governor to call a special session of the legislature to consider the proposition.²²

Immediately there was Republican opposition to the scheme. Samuel Jordan Kirkwood, who was to be elected governor on the Republican ticket within a year, signed a minority committee report declaring that the credit of the state could not be abandoned to the railroad companies without a constitutional amendment. Later, he again attempted to head off the movement by suggesting that if the state was to assume a large debt for railroad building it ought first to assume the outstanding local and county debts.²³ Senator James Harlan joined the fray with an appeal to his fellow Republican, Governor Lowe, that no special session of the legislature be called. Harlan feared that if the state aid movement was successful the Republicans would be held responsible and the angry reaction would certainly defeat the party in the critical campaign of 1859. He wrote the governor:

On the supposition that you should favor their wishes, and that the Legislature when convened, would authorize the Bonds to be issued, would it not almost certainly defeat the Republican ticket next summer? Independent of the cry of *extravagance*, which demagogues would be certain to raise, would it not give our opponents, the voters along the lines of these roads, sufficient to swamp our small majority in the state at large, — and, also, enable them to so distribute them as to carry the Senate and the House? And if so, would all the good growing out of the *more rapid* completion of these public works, compensate for the loss of the control of the State Government, and our position in the Ranks of *Republican States* in 1860, when our vote, as a State, may elect a President of the United States?²⁴

The Republican press seconded the sentiments of the party leadership. A typical reaction appeared in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, which hoped it had seen the end of ". . . this scheme of personal and corporation aggrandizement at the expense of the State. . . . The land speculators and railroad harpies of Dubuque, Davenport, and other places will have to try some more plausible plan in order to involve the credit of the State in their schemes for enriching a few individuals at the expense of the many."²⁵

²² *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, Dec. 10, 1858.

²³ Dan Elbert Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917), 120-21.

²⁴ Harlan to Ralph P. Lowe, Nov. 11, 1858, *Harlan Papers*.

²⁵ *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, Dec. 10, 1858.

The Republicans were on firm political ground. What had happened in Iowa had happened in most of the Old Northwest in the preceding few years. A tremendous demand for railroads had produced conditions approaching hysteria. Newly organized counties vied with more wealthy communities in endorsing railroad bonds or buying railroad stock on credit. Unscrupulous promoters, as well as honest builders, made extravagant promises. Gradually the people became disillusioned. While their need and desire for railroads had not abated one bit, the growing power of the railroad companies over the future of individual communities began to frighten the people. Railroad builders, recently hailed as public benefactors, began to appear to be no more than selfish stock-jobbers. Some counties rescinded the bond issues they had voted for the benefit of the railroads. Since federal land grants did not involve the shadow of debt, such grants were favored in direct proportion to the growing distrust of local and state aid programs. The Republicans had found a solid middle ground when they advocated land grants and fought state aid for railroads in Iowa.

The feeling against the railroad builders and promoters was definitely on the increase during 1859 and 1860, and the Republican party reflected this antagonism in private as well as in public. In the race for the nomination for governor and lieutenant governor, men like W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque and Hiram Price of Davenport were rejected because of their open connection with the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad and the M. & M. line.²⁶ In early 1860 there was even an effort to deprive the roads of some of the lands already granted to them by the federal government. Based on the fact that several of the roads that had received federal grants had not been able to build within the specified time limits, there were apparently several members of the state legislature willing to entertain legislation calling for reversion of the lands to the state. While directors of the roads do not appear to have feared for their lands, they were afraid of the effect such a move might have on their bond sales in the East.²⁷ As a result of this fear, the M. & M. sent G. M. Dodge to do a little lobbying in the legislature in order to prevent the passage of reversion legislation.²⁸

The 1859 gubernatorial campaign revealed the Republican position per-

²⁶ Grimes to Kirkwood, Apr. 24, 1859, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood Papers* (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa).

²⁷ John A. Dix to Peter A. Dey, Feb. 4, 1860, *Dodge Papers*, Vol. I.

²⁸ Henry Farnam to Dodge, March 17, 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. I.

fectly. It gave the party ample opportunity to display its friendship for railroads by its support of grand plans like the Pacific railway, while retaining its freedom of action to deal with local railroad people or not, as circumstances dictated. The old ambivalence was thereby continued. The contest over the Pacific railroad also allowed the Republicans to recall their antislavery and anti-Southern beginnings, for the transcontinental plan had long been involved in sectional politics. Senator Harlan and Representative Curtis carried the burden of this phase of the campaign. Pointing to the united Southern and Democratic opposition to a northern route to the Pacific, Harlan appealed to "New England to stand by us in our appeal to Congress for aid in the construction of this great national road. The united votes of her Senators, with those from New York and Pennsylvania, will render our success certain."²⁹ Representative Curtis worked day and night, both on the floor and off, to further Iowa's hopes of getting on the line of the Pacific road.³⁰ Many of his speeches were extensively circulated in Iowa, and he was a prolific letter writer. In fact, he appears to have spent most of his time off the floor in writing to prominent Republicans throughout the state. In May of 1860 he was offering his work on the Pacific railroad bill as the chief reason he should be renominated.³¹

Curtis was persuasive, for he won his renomination and was re-elected. His victory, however, was the result of an unusual rescue operation by Henry Farnam and the M. & M. Railroad. The Irish workers on the Keokuk & Fort Des Moines line apparently held the balance of power in Curtis' First Congressional District. At least the Curtis camp feared that they did. If the Irish workers voted Democratic, C. C. Cole seemed a certain winner. In order to forestall any such calamity, H. M. Hoxie of the Republican State Central Committee wrote to his old friend G. M. Dodge for assistance. It developed that the Keokuk road was in financial difficulties and on the verge of laying off the workers in question. Dodge passed the word to Farnam, with the result that about one hundred Irish railroad workers were hired by the M. & M. just in time to get them out of the close First District and into the solidly Republican Second District before the election.³² Even though the election returns indicate that Curtis did not need the assistance

²⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess. (1858-1859), 310-11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 250-55.

³¹ Samuel R. Curtis to John T. Baldwin, May 24, 1860, *Dodge Papers*, Vol. I.

³² H. M. Hoxie to Dodge, Oct. 3, 26, 1860, *ibid.*

from the M. & M., it remains an interesting sidelight on the relations between the Republicans and the railroads in Iowa.

The final chapter of the story of the early Iowa Republicans and the railroads centered in the interest of local party leaders in Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's early popularity among Iowa Republicans stemmed from his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, his Cooper Union speech, and the possibility of sending a northwestern man to the White House. There was, in addition, however, considerable interest in Lincoln because of his connections with various railroads. As early as 1857 Grimes, who prided himself on being a good judge of speakers and politicians, requested Lincoln to make a few speeches in Iowa during the constitutional ratification contest.³³ Lincoln had not been able to come, being involved in the famous Rock Island Bridge case that ultimately brought him into closer contact with Iowa Republicans. A short time later Lincoln, in the course of litigation involving the Illinois Central Railroad, arrived in Dubuque with an official party of company men. At that time the Illinois Central was trying to obtain rights for a crossing and a terminal at Dubuque. Lincoln's arrival in the company of important railroad officials impressed local party leaders.³⁴

Lincoln was again in Iowa in 1859, this time on a combined business and pleasure trip to Council Bluffs. While there he met G. M. Dodge who had recently returned from a railroad surveying trip up the Platte Valley to the west. The two men talked for over an hour on the porch of the old Pacific House, during which Lincoln pumped Dodge for information about railroad matters. As Dodge remembered it, ". . . he proceeded to find out all about the country we had been through, and all about our railroad surveys, the character of the country, particularly its adaptability to settlement, its topographical features, in fact he extracted from me the information I had gathered for my employers, and virtually shelled my woods most thoroughly."³⁵

In addition to shelling Dodge's woods, Lincoln wanted to look over some lots in the Riddle tract in Council Bluffs, which Norman Judd, an attorney for the Rock Island Railroad, had bought in 1857 and was now offering as security for a loan from Lincoln. Lincoln took the lots and, as we have seen, Dodge became his agent in taking care of the property.

³³ Herriott, *Iowa and Abraham Lincoln*, 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 89-92.

³⁵ As told to Frank I. Herriott by G. M. Dodge in 1908. *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 12:451 (October, 1920).

During the Republican convention in the Wigwam in 1860, which he attended at Judd's request, G. M. Dodge was one of Lincoln's most active supporters. Dodge was then still young and not too influential, but he acted as a sort of runner for Judd and stirred up all the enthusiasm he could for Lincoln, whom he admired.

The interest of Iowa Republicans in Abraham Lincoln displays the same curious ambivalence which always appeared when the early Republican party of Iowa was faced with the problem of railroads. The party and the individual leaders were eager to see railroads built, they were frequently close to railroad promoters or were active promoters themselves, and yet they did not want to — and could not afford to — be too closely identified with the railroads. Public enthusiasm for railroads and railroad men was too variable to provide a solid foundation upon which to build a political party. A flexible policy for changing conditions was the only possible program for the early Republican party in Iowa. Friendly, but not too friendly, was the strategy, and it paid off handsomely as the Republicans successfully made the transition from a one-idea party opposed to the extension of slavery to a complex party with a wide range of economic programs to offer the electorate.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

During April, May, and June, 1955, the Society added 121 new members to its rolls: 40 in April, 37 in May, and 44 in June.

At the biennial business meeting of the Society, held at the Robert Lucas Home in Iowa City on June 27, 1955, three new members of the Board of Curators were elected: James Nesmith, Iowa City; John Mohl, Bettendorf; and L. R. McKee, Muscatine. They succeed Carroll Coleman of Iowa City, A. C. Gingerich of Wellman, and O. D. Collis of Clinton who have retired from the Board. Superintendent William J. Petersen's report to the members, given at this meeting, is published in this issue of the JOURNAL.

Two steamboat excursions were held for members of the Society during June. On June 17, 18, and 19, three trips were made on the Mississippi on the steamboat *Addie Mae* in the Keokuk-Nauvoo area. On June 24 members in western Iowa took part in a trip on the Missouri River aboard the *Patrick Gass*. The Society also was co-sponsor with the Iowa Chapter of the National Railway Historical Society in a rail trip from Tama to Alden on June 19.

In June the Society published *John A. Kasson: Politics and Diplomacy from Lincoln to McKinley*, by Edward Younger, professor of history at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. John Adam Kasson, a native of Vermont, came to Iowa in 1857 and soon became active in Republican politics. He was a member of the Iowa delegation to the 1860 Republican convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln, and served on the platform committee of that convention with Horace Greeley. His long career covered several terms in Congress; three terms in the Iowa legislature, where he put through the legislation providing for the present state capitol; and a number of important diplomatic missions in Europe. Dr. Younger's book, the result of many years of research, is a real contribution to both the history of Iowa and the nation during the last four decades of the nineteenth century.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- April 21 Addressed Buchanan County School Masters Club at
 Independence.
- May 2 Addressed Rotary Club, Davenport.
- May 17 Commencement address, Mediapolis High School.
- May 18 Commencement address, Rowley High School.
- May 19 Commencement address, Charter Oak High School.
- May 24 Commencement address, Parkersburg High School.
- May 25 Commencement address, Nashua High School.

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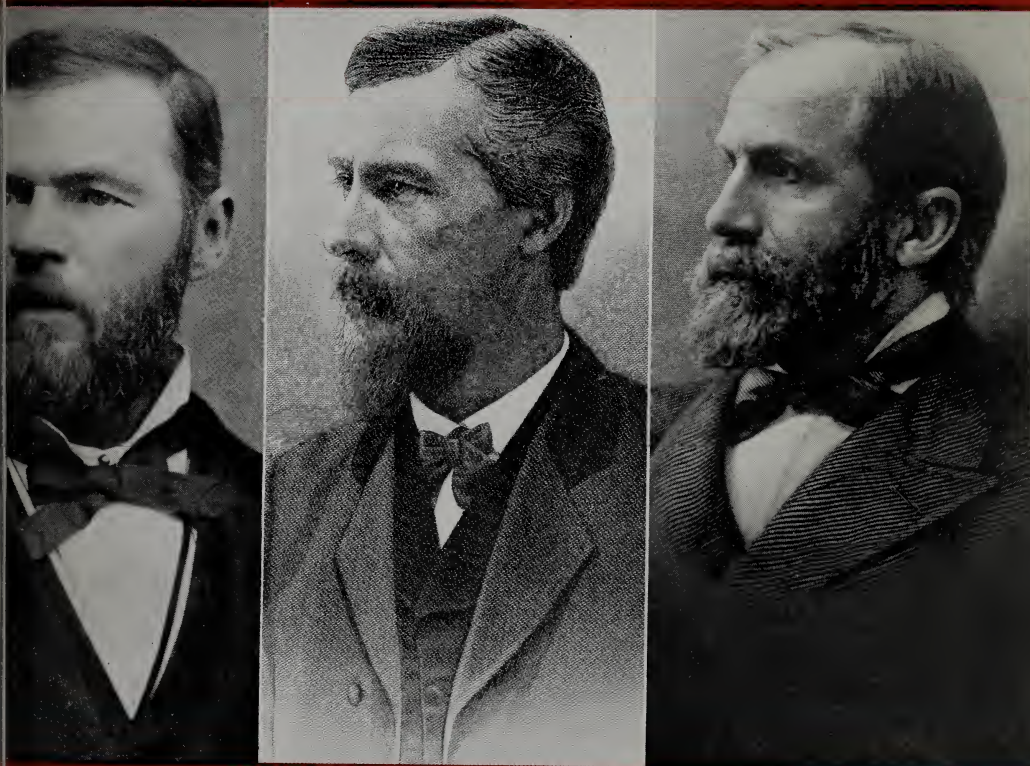
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COVER

Three Iowa Governors. From left to right: John H. Gear (1878-1882), Buren R. Sherman (1882-1886), William Larrabee (1886-1890). Pictures, courtesy of the State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines.

THE USES OF HISTORY

*By Waldemar Westergaard**

History has been defined as the record of what man has thought and said and done, as the memory of events that have occurred in the past. This past may be so remote that the memory of it is embedded only in some ancient ruins, a venerable legend, an epic poem itself based on legend, or a single coin that gives the sole clue to an otherwise forgotten ruler. This past may be as recent as yesterday's record of a memo jotted down in a personal diary or confided to a letter; it may be a published report of a labor union gathering or of a directors' meeting of Montgomery Ward; it may be minutes of a town council or a congressional committee. "Mr. Everyman," as the historian Carl Becker has pointed out, takes on the historian's role himself when he goes back to his Private Record Office files to find out to whom he owes money for his winter's coal.

The fact is that we cannot shake or shrug off the past if we would. Suppose for a moment that memory of the past deserted us just as we neared early adolescence and that we had to start everything anew on some remote spot where we had only our instinct and our inherited intelligence to guide us if we were to survive. We would have to learn to talk, to make or find shelter, clothing, food, the means of defense. We would be back at the beginning of the long road on which our ancestors started milleniums ago.

In this complex society of ours we need to remember — or to learn — something more than the acts and thoughts of our immediate forebears. As our society grows in numbers and complexity, we find it profitable to know how our remote ancestors centuries ago attempted to solve their daily problems, whether these were economic, political, social, or religious. But Mr. Everyman's short memory is not enough. He needs guidance of fellow men who have the techniques and training to present an essentially accurate

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picture or account of man's past career on our planet. He needs the trained historian, not to tell him what stand he should take on social security, tariffs, or Formosa, but to show him how people much like himself met or tried to meet conditions that bore some degree of similarity to those of today.

Historians seem pretty well agreed that a careful study of any period of human history, early or recent, will give the reader a better grasp of the problems of the world about him than he had before. But will history as such provide him with specific answers as to what he should do under specific circumstances? Does it really "teach" anything? Propagandists for a cause often try to clinch their arguments by declaring that "history teaches" us that this or that is the right or wrong path to take. It seems more to the point to say that history may not *teach* us anything, but the thoughtful reader may *learn* much from it; how much will depend on how far he has disciplined himself to grasp the significance of what he has read.

Human society in any age is a complex organism, often bafflingly complex. Whether original sources available for its written history are numerous or scanty, the historian will have to immerse himself in them for protracted periods of time before he is able to determine what episodes and trends deserve emphasis, what individuals had the chief part in shaping the course of events, what forces outside the individual leader dominated the scene and produced a certain pattern. The real historian will not try to find answers to specific questions of his own day, though as a citizen he may be tempted on occasion to offer some educated guesses; but he will look at the period he is describing through the eyes of the participants. Let us bear in mind that each generation has its own questions to ask of the past. Some of these questions arise from a natural desire to learn what past societies did to meet problems that seem quite new to us.

American historians do not agree as to what a history should contain or what form the narrative should assume. Among their leaders one finds an almost bewildering variety of views — on the content of history, on history as literature, on the use of history to explain the present over against history written for its own sake, on the function of the biographer, on the science of history and its philosophy, on the matter of whether historians should attempt to draw morals from history.

Let us confine ourselves here to a brief look at the morals or lessons of history. Some of the presidents of the American Historical Association, like the medievalists Henry C. Lea, agreed that "history generally had a

lesson to teach." But Lea thought that the lesson should "deduce itself from the facts." Others, like the Anglo-Canadian Goldwin Smith, wanted the morals of history spelled out and set forth in language that the average citizen could grasp. Albert Bushnell Hart, editor of *The American Nation* series, declared it was no function of the scientific historian to draw moral lessons from history. He himself was to take part in the 1912 "Bull Moose" convention, not as an historian but as a citizen, and he urged scholars to stay away from propagandizing in their histories. The colonial specialist Charles M. Andrews (1924) felt that all too many historians of the early twentieth century used history for "inferior ends, to prove, to defy, to glorify, or to abuse." (That tribe, alas! is still with us.) History provided such an historian with "an armory of weapons with which to carry on the attack." The moralizing historian, he said, could not let the past speak for itself; as a result he omitted some parts of his material and falsified others; in the role of the dedicated moralist he persistently read the present into the past. Andrews' encomium of a co-worker in his colonial field, George Beer, might well have been applied to himself: "Loyal American that he was, he would not demean himself by compelling [history] to serve as an object lesson for the cultivation of the patriotic virtues."

Our own nineteenth century historians, like those of Europe, were concerned mainly with political history. The few I shall mention here were presidents of the American Historical Association. Among our early national historians, George Bancroft was the ablest. His ten-volume American history (to 1789) appeared at intervals of a busy public life, from 1834 to 1882. He was the first of our historians to make extensive use of European archival documents. He was near enough to the Revolution and the critical years following to have known surviving leaders from that time and to feel keenly the buoyant spirit of an emerging democracy. The spirit that moved the founders was reflected in his sincere effort to show what part flesh-and-blood patriots — and a guiding Providence — had played in laying the foundations of the new state. Out of Bancroft's labors came a patriotic history that won acclaim from Germany's Leopold von Ranke as the best available work on a modern democracy. To be sure, others called it a Fourth of July oration in ten volumes, and our generation's Charles Beard said that Bancroft's history showed "how hard God had worked to establish democracy of a thoroughly reputable variety in America."

Harvard's Edward Channing had noted skeptically Bancroft's nationalistic

and political emphases, and he set himself to writing a quite different kind of history. His six-volume work devoted much space to economic, social, and intellectual forces, together with political and diplomatic, and provided a well-balanced and documented survey that met the requirements of his readers. Channing was the product of a new era in the writing of history, an era of industry in finding new documents and of trained craftsmanship in editing old documents and new, and in appraising their content. He set to work with characteristic vigor to find the facts, and he refused to be influenced by patriotic shibboleths and smug clichés. He attacked tradition, myth, and historical humbug wherever he found them, quite in the spirit of his former teacher, Henry Adams. His early faith in progress "onward and upward" gave way in his maturer years to a doubt as to whether his generation was happier than were his pre-Civil War ancestors.

Charles A. Beard, son of an Indiana banker who had somehow survived the financial crisis of 1893 whole-skinned, used to make facetious references to the way Columbia had "unfroked" him; and I recall the label applied to him by his conservative colleague, William L. Sloane, who told me regretfully that Beard was a "socialist." Both Beard and Sloane made important contributions to American and European history, and each in his turn became president of the American Historical Association.

Beard's early work dealt with the economic background of the Constitutional fathers. His *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* appeared in 1913 and was followed two years later by his *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. The volume on *Economic Interpretation* had a stormy reception from critics who feared that so facile a writer might encourage too many young scholars to give undue emphasis to economic aspects of history. But the University of Chicago's William E. Dodd reviewed it favorably for the light it threw on the personal and financial interests of all the "framers," and hailed it as a stimulating work that enhanced the understanding of the political philosophies of the makers of the Constitution. When the economic historian, Cornell's Charles H. Hull, reviewed the volume of *Economic Origins*, he accepted some of Beard's findings but was skeptical of others. He was not sure, for example, that Beard's conclusion that the Jay treaty "originated in the economic interest of the Federalist party" constituted an economic "interpretation" of Washington's policy. He concluded his review in a note of thinly veiled sarcasm, remarking that "men of an historical turn of mind will be satisfied with their significance,"

"or else [they] will not
I cannot be positive which."

Appraisals of the two books continued to vary, but when Charles and Mary Beard put out their two-volume *Rise of American Civilization* in 1927 all doubts as to the significance of the Beard product had subsided. Here was a fresh and stimulating — and indeed a brilliant — interpretation of American history from its beginnings to the Second American Revolution ushered in by the Machine Age. The discovery — or exposing — of a "ruling class," which earlier historians had ignored or failed to point out, suggested an approach to our history that might be profitably employed in the future. The idea was not entirely original. Karl Marx had started it, and a number of European historians, including the Frenchman Jean Leon Jaures and the Norwegian Halvdan Koht, had traced the class struggle in earlier periods of their country's histories. Franklin D. Roosevelt's reference to "economic royalists" and the charge made against him that he was a "traitor to his class" may serve to suggest that Beard's ruling class — or a class that found its rule threatened — may still exist among us. Even self-confessed economic royalists would agree that Charles Beard knew how to write history in a way that Mr. Everyman would appreciate.

When the distinguished medievalist Charles McIlwain discussed in his 1936 address "The Historian's Part in a Changing World," he demonstrated the danger of the scholar's falling into a position of "retrogressive modernism," or inability to see that there were often basic differences between what an institution was at its beginning and what it later became. The business of the guild historian was to interpret the records of the past in the light of the time and milieu that produced them.

But not many of the Association's presidents were prepared to argue for the historical-minded approach to history. Most of them, if they mentioned the great founder of the German school of "scientific" history, Leopold von Ranke, at all, gave him a passing affirmative nod and hastened on to tell their historian colleagues how the past could be made to serve the needs of the present.

The "crucial present" (perhaps in this atomic age we should change the phrase to "burning present") points up the problem confronting the scholar who feels an inner compulsion to tackle some highly controversial question that has been flaring up for a decade or two. Our collegiate institutions usually encourage their political scientists to deal with recent events, but

Mr. Everyman's impatience to find out what's what before the campaign orators confuse him further may tempt an historian to invade the political science reservation. The history textbook writer is in a still more anomalous position; he is forced to listen to Mr. Everyman's urgings and to bring the human story down to date and to record the last agonized cry of a distressed world — just before the date of publication. But the historical-minded reader recognizes such additions for what they are — improvisations that will require revisions in each new edition. The trained historian should meantime have plenty of fertile fields awaiting cultivation, some of them scarcely scratched by earlier workers.

When it comes to the place history will assign our recent political and military figures — Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, and many others — this will be decided neither by the dedicated boosters of the defense nor by the demolition squads of the opposition. The appraisals will be made after the passions of our time have died down, by a succession of honest and effective scholars. In some cases it will take generations before agreement is even near.

What kind of efforts are now being made in the name of "history" to bring order out of chaos in the story of the past generation, say, since 1930 or so? Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and many of the military and political figures who served under them have their "bureaus of dedicated boosters" — biographers, autobiographers, writers of diaries, publishers of selected documents — to lead off in their skirmishes to procure themselves, or their heroes, places in the Hall of Fame. Every country that was involved in the Second World War and that had reserves of paper and printing presses had similar bureaus. At the same time, we have seen the demolition squads of the opposition — of many kinds of opposition — use every weapon in the publicist's arsenal to attack their former leaders by innuendo or more direct methods for everything from woeful incapacity to outright treason.

Now, what chance is there that all these disputed questions will be resolved? Mountains of material will eventually have to be combed through by many editors who will have to prepare many series of volumes covering many subjects. Just as we now have scholarly editions of the writings of Presidents like Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and those of more recent Presidents like Theodore Roosevelt, so in time and if we live long enough we may see the published correspondence of Franklin Roosevelt.

Increased participation of our country in world affairs will be reflected in more and more publications throwing light on innumerable episodes which may well relegate the recently printed Yalta documents to a dim niche on the library wall. It took a century and a half to bring Washington and Jefferson into a fairly true historical perspective, and more than two generations to give us a portrait of Lincoln as seen against the background of his time. We cannot safely assume that our twentieth century Presidents will cease to be controversial figures in any very near future. Woodrow Wilson, an historian of parts himself, once remarked that a President had to put 99 per cent of his main effort into more or less routine business; but that the historian examining his achievements might find that his memorable work lay in an obscure item in the remaining one per cent. Another way of saying it is that now as in the past it is often the "smallest, most dimly understood developments that have the largest significance." Moreover, the tasks to which American historical scholars must address themselves go far beyond the careers of our leading political figures.

One field of investigation that has curiously enough lain untilled is that of cultural history. The history of science, a great cultural theme that traverses national boundaries and reaches back to contributions by Egyptians and Greeks, by Arabs and Chinese, is receiving increasing expert attention. The history of ideas or of the universities that helped spread them has also made forward strides. But in the United States, for all our inventive fertility, our historians have by and large neglected a phase of cultural history that literally lay under their feet. I refer to the story of man's daily life through the ages, to the conduct and customs that man has developed over the long centuries and that touch many aspects of his daily life and behavior from the cradle to the grave.

The first and about the only Association president who recognized this untilled field and urged investigation of the "domestic and social life of the people, their dress, their food, their modes of thought and feeling, and their ways of making a livelihood" was Edward Eggleston. A former clergyman and popular novelist, the author of *The Hoosier Schoolboy* had turned to historical research late in his active career. In his address on "The New History" he declared that the chief enemies of this "new" history were the classical historians like Herodotus, Thucydides, and Tacitus, and their modern counterparts and imitators, such as Bancroft, Edward Freeman, and the host of others who persisted in emphasizing political and military ("drum

and trumpet") history, and who failed to take note of the manners and customs of the people. Eggleston's hackles rose when he thought of Freeman's famous dictum that history was past politics. "Never was a falser thing said," he charged; it was not only false, but perniciously false. He had praise, however, for Macaulay's famous third chapter with its vivid account of life in England in 1685. Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, now well-nigh forgotten, he rated far above Thucydides for its glimpses of everyday life. But Henry Adams' brilliant chapters on American society with which he began and ended his penetrating nine-volume history of the United States (1801-1821) and H. D. Traill's *Social England* eluded the Hoosier historian altogether. Although his histories had a wide popular audience, his tirade against the conventional approach to history found little support at the time from historians.

It was significant, however, that the author of Eggleston's biography in an encyclopaedia of about 1930 was Arthur M. Schlesinger, and that it was he who with Dixon Ryan Fox brought out a twelve-volume work in the late twenties and early thirties which they called *A History of American Life*. This work lays its main stress on the economic, social, and cultural aspects of our history. About the same time R. H. Gabriel's *Pageant of America*, with its text enriched by hundreds of illustrations, appeared in a fifteen-volume set. What had been the lone voice of Edward Eggleston pleading in an historiographical wilderness in 1900 had now become a substantial chorus that echoed his great theme song. But even with such a showing, cultural history as a subject for intensive study is still in its infancy in this country. The anthropologists who have studied our contemporaneous ancestors on a growing scale have probably done more to cast light on the conduct and *mores* of our remote forebears than have the historians. The daily life of our ancestors offers possibilities for historical investigation that may in time result in correcting the imbalance in the treatment of history that Eggleston and a few others noted with so much concern.

The scholar who really broke new ground in the field of cultural history broadly conceived was a Danish historian, Troels-Lund, whose fourteen volumes of *Daily Life in the North in the Sixteenth Century* came out during the years 1879-1901. Written in the Danish language, a tongue generally unknown to western readers, it was accessible to few scholars outside of Scandinavia. A German translation of the first two volumes did indeed appear in 1882 as *Das Taegliche Leben in Skandinavien*, and it drew prompt

and sharp criticism from the German historian Dietrich Schaefer, who regretted any sign of defection from political history, his main interest. Troels-Lund replied in an essay entitled "Concerning Cultural History," which appeared in 1894 in the introduction to one of his earlier volumes. He argued cogently that far from such history being a sign of decadence, as Schaefer had insisted, it was rather an evidence of a nation's virility and inner spiritual strength.

Troels-Lund's interest in the theme that was to become his *magnum opus* was aroused during his five years' stint as a member of the staff of the Danish State Archives. Here he had access to all manner of original and unpublished manuscripts, and as he perused them his interest was aroused by the many glimpses they afforded of the way people lived and conducted themselves in earlier times. His aim was to see the varied life of the sixteenth century as it appeared to those who lived it. As a practitioner of historical-mindedness, his method was to immerse himself in the documents of the great century of the Renaissance and to observe how individuals of that time acted and thought. The completed work provided a mosaic of precious information on many facets of the daily life of Scandinavians set in a clear, general pattern. He began with the home, and with what men ate and drank there; he went on to their clothes and footwear, to the heating of houses, and their designs. Later he took up customs associated with engagement, marriage, baptism, confirmation, superstitions, modes of travel, types of wagons and carriages, amusements, the books they read, social life in villages, church-going customs — in fact, he described about every phase of daily life from birth to death. Troels-Lund's incisive narrative style, his skill in presenting his vast fund of data in a way that the average reader would enjoy, his disciplined imagination, and his knack of relating things he uncovered to earlier and even to contemporary times, gave him a large and enthusiastic circle of lay readers. You will note that I said *lay* readers. Most Danish guild historians, like our own in Eggleston's time, at first viewed the new approach to history with a skepticism comparable to that of Germany's Dietrich Schaefer. But not for long. As early as 1889 Professor J. A. Fridericia in a review of the earlier volumes pointed out that the work had "earned an enduring and a highly significant place in our historical literature." His successor, Professor Knud Fabricius, produced an admirable popular study of Troels-Lund as an historian which was published in the year of the latter's death. When he died in 1921, almost 30,000 sets of his

fourteen-volume work were in readers' hands; this, in a country of less than three million souls. To equal this record, one hundred million or so of our people would have had to buy at least one million sets! The Germans contributed a label — *Kulturgeschichte* — but a Danish historian gave the first authentic demonstration of what it meant.

The transit of civilization, to be properly understood, requires a knowledge of the culture from which the expanding impulse began. The Americas, north and south, are, as Carlton Hayes and Herbert Bolton have pointed out, cultural frontiers of Europe. How the heirs of the European heritage have adjusted themselves to the physical frontiers they occupied is a key problem if we are to understand ourselves.

The historian's dominant interest is to get at the truth. He must have the poise and balance to listen to the many conflicting views emanating from participants in the human drama as they speak to him through the old documents. He must learn to use those tools of research that will enable him to separate the gold from the dross. In due course, if he combines patience with hard work, he will find a durable satisfaction in fitting the documentary fragments into the true pattern that reflects the age he is examining. To do this, he may find, in Eggleston's words, that "It is better to let the age disclose itself in action; it is only by ingenious eavesdropping and peeps through the keyholes that we can win this kind of knowledge from the past."

If, in addition to the qualities mentioned, the historian has managed to develop a clear narrative style, preferably a style he has evolved himself, he may even hope to attract some interested readers outside of the specialists in his field. We cannot expect all sound history to be literary, but we should be ever grateful for historians like Carl Becker, Charles Beard, Allan Nevins, and Samuel Eliot Morison, to single out a few, who wrote history that ranks high as literature. Max Farrand, historian of the Constitution, who was no literary stylist himself, used as the title of his presidential address "The Quality of Distinction." He lamented the haste shown by able young scholars to get their work printed and between covers; and he suggested that often publishers and college administrators must bear the blame for much premature publication that stressed quantity rather than quality when publication deadlines or academic promotions were under consideration. The result might fall so far below any "quality of distinction" in form and in content as to be sad.

I trust that my sketchy review of historians' aims and history's uses has not frightened off some of my younger hearers from pursuing, or at least encouraging, historical investigation after graduation. My mature hearers who have learned to enjoy well-written historical literature may find ways to encourage the preservation and the use of old records. Publication of half-baked reminiscences serves no useful purpose; but collecting and preserving historical materials is the indispensable basis for solid work later on. Do not be discouraged because no great archives are within your radius. Your neighboring courthouse or city hall will have its routine public records, but more important still, it is likely to have an unassorted mass or "junk heap" of transcripts of court trials, petitions of outraged citizens who demanded action from officials, or diaries kept by methodical officeholders. The nearby newspaper office may have complete files of its weekly sheet; an old-timer may have letters and daguerreotypes stowed away in an attic trunk; a local church may have its records intact; a former state official responsible for a highway or a power project may still have the background story in his files; older school trustees may recall names of especially influential teachers who have served the district. A certain foreign element may have played a part in the community's life — Germans, Scandinavians, Czechs, Armenians, Mennonites, or Nisei descended from Japanese immigrants — and their story may prove fascinating and of value later on to the larger story of state and nation. We must not expect the immigrant himself to be interested in studying the conditions responsible for his leaving his homeland, or indeed to have leisure to reflect seriously on them. His attention is fixed on making a living here and now, and on adjusting himself to his new surroundings. His children are normally more eager to learn the language and customs of the community where they are settled than to trouble themselves about the preservation of their cultural inheritance. It is not infrequently the grandchildren who manage to get to college and to acquire a perspective of American life as a whole who begin to see that the fabric of American civilization is made up of many strands, and that their ancestral heritage is part of the larger pattern. It was this line of thought that led one of our ablest historians of immigration to remark: "When the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember."

You will find that your state historical society may be depended upon to encourage your sincere interest in local and regional history. You may be able to make contact with others of like mind, and perhaps to set up a

study group in which you can talk over local historical problems. You will find hardy legends and oft-repeated traditions that will require documentary checking before you will dare to lean even lightly on them. Before you publish your findings, you will be wise to have an experienced guild historian read the manuscript and advise you what to do with it. If, in Edward Eggleston's words, you can qualify for the praise due "the humble historian who writes of town or city the annals that will be greedily sought after in time to come," well and good. We must, as he urged, depend on the humble historian for "the history of culture, the real history of men and women."

I have served my own apprenticeship as a local historian, and I have seen what young scholars can do in such situations as I have described. One of our Ph. D.'s in medieval history accepted a teaching job at a South Dakota School of Mines. He saw quickly that the Black Hills region was devoid of any written history, so he set about writing one on the basis of such local records as had survived. He did a thorough job in putting the Black Hills area into historical perspective for the first time.

And now a special and somewhat personal word on college libraries and their possible programs for expansion. Old manuscripts in state and local archives are still the mainstay of the investigator. From the older days when copyists transcribed documents for visiting researchers, and later when negative photocopies became popular, and down to now when microfilms have taken over the process of reproduction, the scholar's drudgery has been greatly eased. I have myself seen and used all three methods since my first trip to Europe in 1912 when I was seeking a documentary basis for my doctoral dissertation. From the 1930's on, I have confined myself to making or ordering microfilms of the manuscripts I expected to use. The process enabled me to acquire eventually thousands of microfilm "frames," each the size of a large postage stamp and recording a large folio page or two of letter size. Collected from a half score of town and state archives located on all sides of the Baltic sea, these became the basis for my seminars in Northern European history. My students experienced a new thrill when they saw the enlarged microfilms of old dispatches, letters, and reports through the reading device, and saw them in the exact form in which they were written. Thus conditioned, the students were in a position to eavesdrop on the writers and to see what events looked like through the eyes of the participants.

This story has a moral which he who runs (in the right direction) may

read. You have here at Coe professors, students, and buildings, including a library. You have the problem of buying books — and more books; also the problem of providing some of your professors in the humanities and social sciences with materials for basic research. Some of your students will want to share secrets of the past with their teachers, and will be prepared to begin the apprenticeship essential to the scholar's career. Let me give you a concrete illustration of what a university in Missouri is doing right now. Two professors, Jesuit priests, on the St. Louis University staff, plucked up courage and wrote to the head of the great Vatican Library in Rome for permission to microfilm the entire collection of documents housed there, and to bring the films to St. Louis. People of all faiths are contributing to the project, which requires a special library, an endowment fund, and several million dollars for microfilming alone. A Texas oil tycoon is heading the endowment committee, and eight electric cameras are working simultaneously on the microfilming job at this time.

What do the St. Louis University professors hope to get in return for such an expenditure? Scholars will have available right in their library cubicles firsthand materials on Roman civil law, medieval canon law, and on topics like the history of medicine, chemistry, mathematics, music, astrology, astronomy, and the medieval universities that pioneered these and other studies. Besides, the papacy was long a temporal power which exchanged ambassadors with many European states. Their reports from their stations over Europe contain much hitherto unused information on international relations that will tell researchers more nearly what was going on. Medievalists of all faiths will in due course be coming to St. Louis to consult the microfilmed Vatican Library.

So vast and costly a program is beyond the resources of any small liberal arts college. But you may well find that for a small initial outlay the Coe College Library could acquire scores of thousands of microfilms from famous American and European archives that could give your professors in the humanities and the social sciences a continuing encouragement to keep up their productive scholarship, and would similarly encourage their promising students. The unique treasures of American archives, of the British Museum Library and the Public Record Office, of the archives of France, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries would be yours to use. Your library base would be broadened, the scholarly work of your staff would be increased in quantity and quality, and the public that

you serve would be the gainer. It might be worth seriously considering whether a monument of our civilization's historical records might not be of more lasting value to you than, say, a sports arena or an impressive piece of college architecture.

If some of my young hearers are looking forward to a scholar's life, perhaps to the study of some phase of the European background of American life, or a phase of European history, let me give you a word of caution. If you have any allergy to foreign languages, this may not merely impede your progress, it may well make any noticeable progress impossible. But if your enthusiasm is sufficient to take you into those foreign languages that hold the key to your problems, then you may enjoy the satisfaction that derives from having acquired tools and techniques of research that may open new vistas to your exploring instincts. If you have more modest plans, you may find an outlet for your energies by making solid contributions to problems in local history. So to those of you who have the urge to explore some new area where a healthy curiosity might lead you, I can only say "happy journey" and a "safe return." Please bear in mind Carl Becker's words, "What we didn't know hurt us a lot," and John Hicks's corollary, "Whatever we can know about our past should help us a lot." Your efforts, wherever they may lead you, should convince yourselves and others that history has its uses.

DOCUMENT
CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF ABNER DUNHAM,
12TH IOWA INFANTRY

*Edited by Mildred Throne**

The Twelfth Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry, was mustered into the Union army at Camp Union, Dubuque, during October and November of 1861, the last company being mustered on November 25. A young farmer, Abner Dunham of Manchester, Delaware County, entered the service as Fourth Corporal of Company F. He was but twenty years old at the time, having been born on August 20, 1841, in Laporte County, Indiana, the son of Ferdinand and Angeline (McCullom) Dunham.

The following letters were written by Abner to his parents and friends during the four years he spent in the army. He received successive promotions — from Fifth, to Fourth, and then to Second Sergeant — and on April 20, 1865, was commissioned a First Lieutenant. The Twelfth Iowa was mustered out of service on January 20, 1866, at Memphis.

After the war Dunham returned to Delaware County, resumed his farming activities, married Sophronia E. Boynton, daughter of Noah and Lucinda (Vinton) Boynton of Jo Daviess County, Illinois. In later years Dunham was an active Republican, held several county offices, and was a prominent member of the G. A. R. He died in 1910.¹

Lieutenant Dunham's grandson, Major Irvin M. Parsons, presented these letters to the Society.

Camp Union Dubuque Iowa Nov 18th 1861

A fine warm day. had a good drill in the forenoon. at noon Gen Baker²

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¹*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion . . .* (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:450. (Hereafter listed as *Roster and Record*.) See also *History of Delaware County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 2:145-6 for sketch of Abner Dunham.

²Nathaniel B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa, 1861 to his death, Sept. 13, 1876. His grave in Woodland Cemetery, Des Moines, is marked by a monument erected by contributions from Iowa soldiers. Benjamin Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:11-12.

came and said we need not drill any more until we get our overcoats and pants. as for the blankets he said they was not worth any thing and give the quartermaster a blowing up for distributing such blankets among us. he said that we might have two of them or one of those he sent for. I will take one that he sent for. they are a splendid blanket and worth any two of the others.

Tuesday Nov 19th 1861

It has been raining hard almost all day and most of the boys have laid in their bunks most all the time. this afternoon we got our overcoats and pants and nice ones they are to[o]. the coats are all wool with large capes. they are very warm. they reach below the knees. when a person gets them on he feels right at home; the pants are also all wool. they are nicer ones than we would think of wearing at home. I tell you how the boys did cut up when they got their coats on. it pleased Gen Baker very much. he laughed almost hard enough to split himself. he told the Col. to go out and see his boys for he would not know them; he is a very common man and is not afraid to speak to a soldier. he jokes and talks with them as if they held the same position as himself. the boys was going to elevate him tonight but he begged off, so they gave three cheers for him and then went about their business.

Wednesday Nov 20th 1861

It has been quite winday today but we had a fine drill; we were lettered off[f] today. our company has got letter F. our station will be the 2nd Co on the right wing. The Alison rifle boys got H and they are awful mad. they said that the[y] would have F or fight. some of our boys told them if they would whip us the[y] might have it. we told Mr. Gift³ and he said he was in, that he would lead us. but they have come to the conclusion to let out the job. their Captain swears he will resign. if he does will we not have fun a druming him out of camp. Gen Baker says he wants us to have the first class arms. he could arm us now with the french musket but they do not suit him. he left for home today. when we went out on battallion drill, he says good bye boys, I will see you when you come to Davenport. I tell [you] he is a man that will do all he can for his men. I only wish that there was more like him. In looking this over I find that I have omitted part of the Monday news. the big wrestle came of[f] at nine oclock in the morn-

³ J. Wilson Gift of Manchester, Iowa, first lieutenant of Co. F, 12th Iowa. *Roster and Record*, 2:462.

ing, and our boys came off[f] bully, so now we stand as bully of the Reg.

Thursday at noon Nov 21st 1861

We have marching orders this morning. we will leave here either sunday or monday morning. I will express my things through to you when we leave. I am going to take my quilt and one pair of pants besides those that I have got on. I shall send home one shirt and a pair of drawers. I shall send the ones that I got from the state if they will let me. . . .⁴

Benton Barrack[s] St. Louis Mo

Dec 7th / 61

. . . The present appearance indicates our leaving here soon for our commasary is now drawing four days rations. the report is that we are going to Ft Leavenworth but I can hardly credit it. . . . most all of the boys caught bad colds coming down on the cars myself among the number but I got some licorice which helped me & now do not feel it much. I shall after this avoid getting where the air is confined if possible for it does not agree with soldiers.

It is now eight oclock in the evening and it has stoped raining & has cleared off yet it is rather muddy under foot. I have been out hearing the brass bands play. it sounds very nice this evening. the band at Dubuque does not play [as] much as these bands do here. I tell you a person can see a great deal that is in the army, I believe more than he can anywhere else. it is a great place [to] learn human nature. I have learned more of the same than I ever knew before.

The boys are fiddling and dancing tonight to a great rate. they are all as happy as clams but they are not any of them enjoying themselves better than I am in holding converse with dear friends at home, who I know often think of and weep for me. I often think of home and if god sees fit hope to return to it, but I do not for once regret enlisting in the noble cause in which I am now engaged. I would not miss sharing the glory of victory which we

⁴ The regiment went by rail to St. Louis, Mo., and then into camp at Benton Barracks. Most Iowa regiments proceeded to St. Louis by boat, but when the 12th Iowa was provided with open barges for the men in below-zero weather, the Colonel, Joseph Jackson Woods of Maquoketa, refused to allow them to travel in that fashion. After waiting several days, the regiment was taken across the river at Dubuque and put on board an Illinois Central train at Dunleith, Ill. It took two days for the men to reach East St. Louis — a distance of 375 miles. *Roster and Record*, 2:407; David W. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry* (n. p., n. d. [Evanston, Ill., 1903?]), 9-10. (Hereafter listed as Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*.)

are sure to gain, for hardly any thing. money could not hire me to miss it. there is not a man in our camp but would be on the elert at the prospect of having a battle. . . .

. . . The boys almost worship Major Broadbeck [sic].⁵ they would be willing to follow him through any thing. I wish that he was our Colonel. not that I do not like Col. Wood[s] for a better natured man never lived. he is very kind and uses every soldier like a gentleman, but he has not got the snap that makes evrything all *Gee* as the Major has. . . .

Smithland Livingston Co Kentucky

Feb 2nd 1862⁶

Againe do I seat myself to write you a few lines but far from and in a different situation from what we was when I last wrote you. we was then in Camp Benton preparing to depart; after I had finished writing I laid down and took a good nap; a little before daylight it commenced raining and in less than an hour it was muddy as you please. the packing &c went on as usual and in a little while teams come for our baggage. then commenced loading which took about an hour. then came folding blankets packing knapsacks drawing rations &c &c. at 10 oclock we were formed in ranks and started for the river to be ferried across. those who did not feel able to march down might ride on the horse car by paying their own fare. it being about four miles down there, I chose to ride. it cost me 10 cents; when we got there we was immediately ferried across where the cars were waiting for us. we got aboard and at three oclock we left for Landoval distance sixty miles where we arrived about midnight; changed cars there took the Ill Central R. R. and at three oclock we started for Cairo which place we reached at three oclock Tuesday afternoon. four oclock we got aboard the steamer Memphis to go up to the Ohio to this place where we arrived Wednesday morning at daylight. we are sixty miles from Cairo. we are situated where the Cumberland river empties into the Ohio. you can see

⁵ Samuel D. Brodtbeck of Dubuque, a native of Switzerland. The "Little Major," as he was called, was a strict drill master, but he was as firm with the officers as with the men. He would ride along the lines during drill, shouting "Officers all wrong! Officers all wrong! Men all right!" Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 5.

⁶ On Jan. 26, 1862, the 12th Iowa was ordered to report at Cairo, Ill., where Grant was gathering his forces for the attacks on Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The 12th reached Cairo on Jan. 28 and then proceeded by steamboat to Smithland, Ky., a small town at the mouth of the Cumberland River, where camp was established on Jan. 30, 1862. *Ibid.*, 12; *Roster and Record*, 2:407.

our situation by exameing the map. it is a very pretty place and the people look healthy. the air smells pure and our boys that were convalescent are comeing out all right. there is a fort here with three cannon two 30 pounders and one 60 pounder. they say they have thrown shell five miles up the river and with accuracy. our camp is situated about 80 rods from the two rivers on a hill about 200 feet above the level of the river. we can see from three to four miles each way so if the enemy attacks us I think we stand a pretty good chance. there is quite a prospect of being attacked before a great while for the rebels have been seen scouting around here [for] two or three days and today the Gen. has ordered that there should be no more firing any where around here as the discharge of a gun is used as a signal. the commanding General here is Gen. Wallace of Indiana.⁷ he was formaly a Col of an Indiana regiment. This place is a regular secesh hole although they pretend to be union now. at the last election here there was 14 union votes and 140 secesh cast in this place so you can see that the union men are quite scarce. Friday was the last day that the inhabitants here had a chance to prove themselves loyal by taking the oath, consequently there was quite a number of people in town. how many refused to take the oath I have not learned but I know that two persons had their property confiscated that night. the Provost Marshal went into the houses and told the owners they must leave them but they did not seem to like to go very much so he gave them an hour to get out which they accordingly did. There is a great many empty houses here which used to be occupied by mechanics but they have gone farther south to build gunboats &c. one man owned a steam sawmill. he sawed up a lot of lumber and has taken it down south and is working it up. Well now I will tell you how we are camped. we are in large round tents (called winter tents) with a stove in them.⁸ they are calculated to accommodate 18 men. they are a great deal better than the small square ones. I had rather live in a tent than all their barracks they can build. my reasons are the tents are a great deal healthier than barracks and are just as comfortable and there is not so many men put together so there

⁷ General Lewis Wallace, later famous as "Lew" Wallace, author of *Ben Hur*. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 19:375-6.

⁸ These were the so-called Sibley tents, invented by a General Sibley. Cone shaped, they were designed to accommodate 16 or 18 men and had an opening at the peak of the tent, so that the smoke from the stove could escape. They were found to be too heavy for active service, where the men were on the move, and were later replaced by small two-man "pup" tents. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 12-13.

is not so much confusion. these tents cost the U S \$28 apiece. the stoves are the same shape of our tents being two & half feet high and have a three inch pipe. we can heat one up in two minutes so our tents will be very warm. the stove and pipe weighs about 25 pounds. I feel the most at home that I have since I enlisted. we are as happy as clams and live off the top shelf; secesh pigs turkeys and chickens &c come around pretty often and if they bite or kick at any of us we just knock them over and of course we then have a good meal. they must not insult us if they want to get along well. there is now no less than two pigs in our Co one of which is in this tent. we had some fresh pork yesterday morning and Lieuts Gift & Morse took breakfast with us. I have got along with the mumps first rate. I have got over them but I am careful not to catch cold. I feel the best I have since I took the measles. I have got almost rid of my cough and I am coming out all right. the air is very pure and today the Dr had only three on the sick list that was out of the hospital while in camp Benton. there used to be from 10 to 12 in our own Co.⁹ I believe St Louis to be as unhealthy a place as there is in the U. S. the inhaleing of the coal smoke and every thing that is filthy will soon use a person up. . . .

Ft. Donelson Stewart Co Tennessee Feb 18th /62

Againe do I seat myself to write you a few lines to let you know that I am well and that I was in the battle here and have come out without a scratch.¹⁰ yet we was under a very severe fire for about an hour saturday afternoon and for three days we held a position within 600 yards of the enemys breastworks exposed all the time to their fire. I will commence and give you a short description of the seige. we started from Ft Henry wednesday morning at 7 oclock and marched slowly towards this place distance 12 miles. the roads were fine and the weather splendid. we would halt every little while and take a rest. we come within a mile of the entrenchments and stoped for the night. it was very warm and we was comfortable without fires for we dare not have any for fear of shell. in the afternoon about

⁹ The regiment suffered considerably from disease while at Camp Benton in St. Louis. At times half the men were unfit for duty; 75 died and many were discharged for disability. *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰ Fort Henry on the east bank of the Tennessee River fell to Grant on Feb. 6. He then moved on Fort Donelson, some 12 miles to the east, on the west bank of the Cumberland River. Fort Donelson fell, after a short siege, on Feb. 16, 1862. *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:288-315. (Hereafter listed as Grant, *Memoirs*.)

three oclock the ball opened, some of our advance troops having gone forward and given them battle. the fireing continued about an hour. we laid down and took a good nights rest and Thursday morning we were up and ready for a start by daylight but were not ordered to move until about 7 oclock when a sharp action commenced about half a mile to our left. we were immediately ordered forward which caused the enemy to retreat behind their entrenchments and we took up our position just over the brow of a hill with[in] 600 yards of the entrenchments. during the day we kept picking the rebels off, the sharpshooters doing good service in that kind of business. a rebel could not show his head above the breastworks without getting a bullet after it. we lost one man out of our Regt that day. he belonged to Co A. about sundown it commenced raining and we must stay there all night without fires and we only had our blankets, our overcoats being left in Ft Henry and I tell you we had a tough night of it. it rained until we were all wet and then it commenced snowing and freezing and about three oclock in the morning the right wing of our Regt got up and went back over into a deep hollow and built up some fires and got warmed up and at 6 went back and relieved the left wing while they went and warmed. after daylight the sharpshooters come up and got a position so that whenever the enemy tried to use their artillery they could pick of[f] their gunners so that their batteries were kept silenced all the time and then we built up some fires and got dry and we are enjoying ourselves first rate. It is a glorious victory and it will be a sunday long to be remembered by us. it more than paid us for all that we had done. we have got between 15000 & 20000 prisoners and are getting more all the time. today 700 were taken comeing to reinforce this place. the amount of property cannot easily [be] estimated but there is a great deal. there is horses and mules by the hundreds lots of artillery, waggons, tents and every thing imagineable. they threw a great many of their arms into the river. it is as much [as] 7 miles around the entrenchments. I took a mule yesterday and rode around over the battle ground until I got tired and then did not see half but it makes me feel bad to see some of the sights. to see the dead heaped up by the dozens not yet buried and they cannot get them buried before tomorrow night. to see how they are mangled and then just tumbled into holes by dozens gives a person a good idea of the horrors of war. and the wounded are not all got into good hospitals yet and the ambulances are running night and day doing their best for them, but the rebels are worse than I had thought and here-

after I shall believe more of the newspaper reports than I have before for they threw shell into our hospital and we had to remove our wounded out of sight. and they took some of our wounded and threw them into jail and left [them] there to starve. they were discovered today 7 of them being dead. There was only two men killed in our Regt and 33 wounded. Col Cook said that our Regt went into action the best that he ever saw men. I did not feel any fear at all. there was something else to think of. all we had to think of was to push on and do our best. Gen. Grant was the man that comanded our troops. he intended to have all the Iowa boys in one brigade but made a mistake and got a Regt of Ill. boys instead of our Regt. I was talking with the Lieut. Col. of the Iowa 7th the other day and he said that the Gen. felt very sorry when he found he had made the mistake but the order had been issued and it was to[o] late to recall it. There was not any body killed in our Co. three were slightly wounded. . . .

Pittsburg Landing Tennessee March 28 1862

This is as beautiful a spring morning as I ever saw. the sun shines out in his splendor. the grass is growing trees budding out peach trees in full bloom & the little birds singing their sweet songs cannot help but be pleasing to the soldier as it is here at the present time. it does look beautiful to see the peach trees in full bloom. the warm weather wilts us down a little as it always does in the spring but to go out and have a good game of ball and take a sweat seems to drive the old diseases out of our system and we are growing as tough and hearty as when at Camp Union. I believe that in a few days our Regt will hardly have a man unfit for duty. every day the sick list becomes smaller. . . .¹¹

Benton Barracks Mo Nov 9th 1862

. . . I find on arriving here that prisoners are forced to break their parole by forcing them to do guard duty which is one thing particularly spoken of in the Cartel that they shall not do. My government sanctioned that Cartel I signed that Cartel and that Cartel *I shall not break* although imprisonment in our own prisons may be the consequence. I consider that I took an hon-

¹¹ On April 6-7, 1862, the 12th Iowa took part in the Battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing. On the first day of the battle some 400 of the 12th Iowa were forced to surrender, together with most of the 8th and 14th Iowa. Abner Dunham was among those captured. The prisoners were taken to Montgomery, Ala., then to Macon, Ga., and finally to Libby Prison at Richmond, Va. They were exchanged on Dec. 1, 1862, but, as indicated in the following letters, Dunham and others were paroled before that date, subject to the laws governing parolees. *Roster and Record*, 2:409. For accounts of the captivity, see Reed, *Campaigns and Batiles*, 102-110.

erable parole and as an honorable man I will keep it. Let U S exchange me and I am ready & willing to do my duty as any soldier in the army as I always have done while I was in active service. Should we ever be exchanged and take the field and again be compelled to surrender, our lives are almost sure to be taken for they know that our boys have been doing garrison duty here and they swear that if they ever catch any of the Iowa 12th they will hang them. this they told some of our Regt (belonging to the union brigade) who were taken at the late battle of Corinth. I think that the administration is not informed of the doings here or they would stop it. it was stoped once by an order from the war department but commenced again in a few days. they do not make prisoners in the east do any duty [and] why should they here. if they try to make me stand guard here I shall try to find where they get their authority for so doing. What think you? We will get our pay as soon as our descriptive rolls arrive, we expect them this week sometime. . . . we look different than we did [when] we left Dixie, getting our ragged clothes off cleaned from lice, hair cut and face shaved improved our looks materially. at least that is what spectators say. . . .

Benton Barracks, St. Louis Mo Nov 22nd /62

. . . Well Fathere now about a furlough. I find that it is doubtful about getting one but if you will send me some money I will take one without we should be exchanged before I get the money. they cannot do any thing with us if we do go home while prisoners just so we report to our Regt when exchanged. John Bremner and myself are going together, the fare is about ten dollars but send 12 or 13 for in case of necessity I might want to use it. We will not get any money from U S I think now until the 1st of January. The officers do not make the paroled boys stand guard as much as they did and I have not been called on yet. . . .¹²

Benton Barracks Mo April 5th 1863

. . . by the time this reaches you we will be on our way to the seat of war and again take part in the contest which is going on there as we are now under marching orders to be ready to move at a moments notice. our

¹² The remnants of the 12th Iowa, not captured at Shiloh, were combined with those of the 8th and 14th into the Union Brigade and as such took part in the Battle of Corinth, Oct. 3-4, 1862, where they lost 39 of the 80 men making up the 12th Iowa. After that the Union Brigade was dissolved, and those remaining of the 12th Iowa went to Benton Barracks, where they joined the exchanged prisoners, and the 12th was again organized as a regiment. *Roster and Record*, 2:409-410.

destination is Youngs Point opposite Vicksburg. . . .¹³ I hardly know what to think about it whether Grant is going to take that place or not. one of our boys got a letter from one of his friends near Vicksburg. he says the men are all for taking it and if they are only permitted to go every one of them will die but what they will have it. For the last few days we have been quite busy as the Union Brigade has joined us and have been reorganizing drawing waggons mules horses &c. we are to have five six mule teams one two horse & one four horse ambulance; we have got some new colors & also the national banner, which is a blue field with a guilded eagle upon it, upon the banner is to be inscribed, 12th Iowa Inf't. Vol. and Iowa's coat of arms. on the colors is to be Donelson Shiloh & Corinth. we had them on dress parade tonight for the first time. . . . last Wednesday we had an election for sergeants resulting as follows, 1st sergt Parsons [sic. Carson] F. Haskell, 2nd John Bremner 3rd W A W Nelson 4th Isaac Cottle [sic. Cottell] 5th A Dunham. the corporals are not elected yet. we now have a writing from Col. Woods designating our rank, which cannot be got away from us short of a *court martial*. I am glad it was done by an election as now it is satisfactory for I would rather be in tofet than be in my position if I was not wanted here by the Co. it most certainly cheers me on more by having them do it than to have my commanding officer as they know who is right or wrong as well as the officers. . . .

Duck Point [Duckport] La 12 miles from

Vicksburg April 17th /63¹⁴

. . . There was quite a feat accomplished last night, that of 6 transports & 5 gunboats running by Vicksburg, seven transports started but one was burned. they carried through 2700 rations.¹⁵ . . . 20000 troops left Milli-

¹³ Grant's siege of Vicksburg, the Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi, was gathering momentum at this time, although the city did not fall to the Union forces until July 4, 1863. See Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:422-570 for complete account of siege of Vicksburg.

¹⁴ On arrival at Duckport, La., the 12th Iowa (along with the 8th and 35th Iowa) was assigned to the 3rd brigade, 3rd division, 15th Armp Corps, under command of General William T. Sherman. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 113.

¹⁵ With the coming of spring, Grant had decided to move his troops south of Vicksburg, since his efforts at attack from the north had failed. To do so, it was necessary for the boats of the Mississippi fleet, stationed north of the city, to run the blockade at Vicksburg. Admiral David D. Porter commanded the fleet that ran the batteries at Vicksburg under heavy fire on the night of April 15, 1863. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:460-64; Admiral David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War* (New York, 1886), 310-11.

kins landing and is marching below Vicksburg. I believe we will have fun soon and fun that will tell in our favor. the bombardment last night was of terrible grandure, a continual roar was kept up all the time. it commenced at 11 oclock & continued until half past one. they kept throwing occasional shell every few minutes all night. we heard the bombardment today but did not know what it meant until the Col. come back. I hope to post-mark my letters *Vicksburg* in a few days. . . .

Duck Port La May 2nd 1863

We are to march this morning at six oclock, are going to Carthage below Vicksburg.¹⁶ are to leave our tents & knapsacks and to carry only two days rations & one blanket with our arms & acoutriments. . . .

Saturday May 2nd

Revellee was beat at 3 A M got all ready to march by seven oclock, fell in line stacked arms went to our tents & did not start until after dinner. just as dinner was over a large mail come, the first since we arrived here. by the time it was destributed & before it could be read we were ordered to fall in & off we went the 8th taking the lead of the Brigade 12th next & 35th bringing up the rear. our brigade brought up the rear of the division today. . . . We passed several very fine plantations some of the finest I ever saw in the south; after marching about 10 miles we camped for the night in a cornfield. I felt rather tiered but a good strong cup of tea and a hard cracker revived me very much.

Sunday May 3rd

Had a very refreshing nights sleep. resumed our march at six A M marched 15 miles. the day was extremely warm and water scarce and sometimes it did seem as if I could not stand up. we camped in Richmond.

Monday May 4th

Left Richmond early this morn. marched until 11 oclock and stoped for dinner. saw some of the 16th Iowa boys here. at three we resumed our march passed part of McCarthers division,¹⁷ where we saw a squad of rebel

¹⁶ Grant had two army corps, the 13th and 17th, with him at Hard Times, La., from whence he planned to take strongly-fortified Grand Gulf, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Sherman's corps, the 15th, had been left at Duckport, to create a diversion north of Vicksburg. On April 29 Grant sent Sherman orders to march his corps south as fast as possible to join him at Hard Times. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:468-78.

¹⁷ Brigadier General John McArthur commanded the 6th division of the 17th Army Corps. *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington,

prisoners taken at Port Gibson. camped nere here that night. made 18 miles today.

Tuesday May 5th

Rained a little last night but by means of our rubber blankets kept dry. started early this morning. it did not rain enough to make the roads bad. reached the river and camped on Perkins plantation. Saw several of my old prison friends among whome was Captain Jackson of the 18th Wisconsin. we drew rations here and saw some of the transports which had run the blockade. . . .

Wednesday 6th

Againe took up our line of march down the river. our Co confiscated some mules on which we loaded our blankets & haversacks which relieved us a great deal. we marched at a slower rate today than usual. we passed many fine plantations which was marked with destruction, the buildings nearly all being burned. one belonging to a Dr in the Confederate service was a splendid building and splendidly furnished. I never saw such furniture in my life. large mirrors covering the whole side of the rooms was smashed to peices by the butts of the musket. a thousand dollar piano & \$300 Malodian was played on by the boys with their feet and to close the scene a match was slyly tucked into one corner. I guess the General begins to think he has got some tough boys. not a cotton gin has been left on our road; the negroes flock arround us and wants to know where *you ens* all come from. when we tell them that there is lots more where we come from they think we are jesting and we pass on. one old negro today to express his joy prayed as long as I could hear him and prayed the lord to bless every one of us. Camped within five miles of the river.

Thursday May 7th 1863

Started as usual this morning and when within half a mile of the river halted stacked arms and had orders to cook as much meat as we could carry as we could not get any after crossing the river. we built fires got water hot killed three or four cattle and had just commenced dressing them when we [were] ordered forward so we had to leave our meat to rot and go ahead. marched immediately to the river and on to one of the transports that had run the blockade and was soon on our way across the river. the boat had several holes through it made at the time she run by the batteries. several

D. C., 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 156. (Hereafter listed as *Official Records*.)

gunboats was employed transporting troops across the river. we soon landed at Grand Gulf¹⁸ stacked arms and as it would be some time before our division would be across I concluded to take a look at their principle works. they were situated on some very high bluffs on the very brink of the river. the position was dug out of the bluffs and it would be impossible to try to scale them as they were about 100 feet high and perpendicular. there was position here for five cannon but none were there, they having been removed by our troops. a magazine was also situated here but on their having to avacuate blowed it up throwing dirt timbers rail road iron gun carriages & numerous other things in every direction. I saw an iron rail thrown as much as fifty feet and bury itself half its length in the earth. I returned to the regiment and found that we was to remain over night. some of the boys had been out and got some beef so we was all right for meat tonight.

Friday May 8th 1863

. . . started at 10 oclock on our march.¹⁹ our road was very hilly and crooked, water not to be got and the weather extremely hot. it did seem as if we wold suffocate sometimes. marched seventeen miles. we found a little water of very poor quality but tasted as good as the best of waters to us.

Saturday May 9th

Lay over until 2 oclock P. M. during the forenoon sent out a forrriageing party which brought in some sheep salt & molasses. the sheep we killed cut up and broiled on coals. at 2 P M we took up our line of march went about 8 miles and camped at a place called Rocky Springs. there is a nice little creek here but the rocks & springs cannot be found. I got a lot of corn husks for a bed tonight. . . .

Sunday May 10th

Rested at Rocky springs all day. . . . we drew a few hard crackers three fifths rations seem pretty small for such times as these. I took a good wash all over but had to put on the same old dirty clothes.

Monday May 11th 1863

Left Rocky Springs early this morning. marched slowly in the forenoon,

¹⁸ Grant had crossed the Mississippi below Grand Gulf, which place had been evacuated as he approached. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:480-91.

¹⁹ Grant now began to move his forces into position east of Vicksburg, on the railroad which ran from Vicksburg east to Jackson, Miss., thus cutting the Confederate line of supply from that direction. It was during this campaign that Grant, against the advice of his commanders, first cut loose from his supplies and "lived off the country." *Ibid.*, 1:494-8.

heard firing to the north of us in direction of the bridge. . . . marched about four miles beyond and camped in a very fine meadow where our troops had a skermish with the enemy. there was a great many negroes here and were in extaces of delight at our apearance. one old wench prayed so loud that we could hear her for over half a mile, while others would dance to the music of our bands. our batteries were planted all ready for a fight. we killed some cattle tonight so we can have some fresh meat without salt.

Tuesday May 12th

Started about 9 oclock this morning. marched slowly for about three miles & halted occasioned by the 4th cavalry having a skermish ahead and the rebels burning a bridge across a deep ravine. about four oclock we moved forward crossed the ravine and went about two miles beyond & camped for the night. we are now within eight miles of Raymond.

Wednesday 13th

We were aroused at half past two this morning, the drums & bugles keeping perfectly still. started at four. marched very fast until within two miles of Raymond when we came to a field where Gen. Logan had met the enemy the day before and [had] gained a decisive victory,²⁰ the enemy drawing off leaving all of their dead & wounded on the field and also leaving 1000 prisoners in our hands. we moved on into town and lay there until about 2 P M when we was ordered forward. marched on six miles on the Jackson road when the enemy was reported on our front in force. we immediately formed in line of battle on double quick, our brigade being on the extreme left. the 2nd Iowa battery lay on our right. after being formed we moved forward expecting every moment to have a volley fired into us. at length we reached a thick under growth [of] timber but continued forward for about a quarter of a mile and halted stacked arms and told to make ourselves comfortable for the night. it commenced raining a little but by means of our rubber blankets kept dry.

Thursday May 13th

Got an early start this morning, marched about two miles when it commenced raining very hard which was kept up for about three hours and I

²⁰ With the capture of Raymond, some few miles south of the Vicksburg & Jackson RR, Grant turned his forces eastward to Jackson, planning to capture that place and then turn westward to move against Vicksburg. *Ibid.*, 1:499. Major General John A. Logan commanded the 1st division of the 17th Army Corps. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 155.

think I never saw it rain harder in my life. but on we went the mud ankle deep and crossing streams waist deep. when within four miles of Jackson the rain had nearly ceased and we heard firing to our left which told us that Gen. Logan had engaged the enemy.²¹ When within three miles of J the 2nd Iowa battery got into position and commenced throwing shell. it had fired but a few times when it received a reply. we immediately deployed our brigade lying just to the left of the battery and holding the left wing of our Army Corps. soon we advanced to the edge of a very large field (or a series of fields) extending some miles in length. our brigade halted for a time while the right advanced. and here let me say I never saw a grander sight in my life. the first that came in sight was our skermishers which moved steadily forward driving the enemies skermishers before them. soon after came the Divisions formed in Echelon which moved forward yelling like tigers. soon we moved on which put an end to my viewing this beautiful scene. after marching countermarching and changing our position several times we at length got within about a mile of town when we were halted and the two batteries of our Division²² advanced and took a position thinking perhaps to provoke the enemy to charge on them when we would lay in wait for them and give them a warm reception if they did come. but they would not bite at the bait and we were ordered up on double quick. up we went and formed in line as quick as possible and ordered to lay down as we lay in easy range of their batteries. . . . the rebs threw an occasional shell but hurting no one except one man in the 35th which had his leg cut off by one. while we lay here Gen. Grant Gen. Sherman and several other Gen. came up there and held a council of war and resulted (as I juged from what I heard one remark to the other) that we had to charge the works. they rode off and in a short time an order came to take the works by storm. we got up, the batteries limbered up and all ready to move when a messenger came as fast as his horse could run saying the town had surrendered. Oh! what a shout went up and we instantly moved forward

²¹ With Confederate General John C. Pemberton at Vicksburg, in his rear, and Confederate General J. E. Johnston at Jackson, Grant moved swiftly to attack the latter before Pemberton could send forces out from Vicksburg. For Grant's account of the fall of Jackson, see Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:499-508. See also, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 749-87.

²² The 12th Iowa was still in the 3rd division, 15th Army Corps. The batteries attached to this division were the 1st Ill. Light Artillery, Battery E, and the 2nd Iowa Light Artillery, 2nd Battery. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 153.

to take possession of the place. when we got into the suburbs of town halted stacked arms and built fires out of the fences to dry & warm ourselves. had been there but a short time when we fell in and marched to a suitable camping place stacked arms and was told to make ourselves comfortable so at it we went. there was lots of lumber and we soon had very comfortable shelters. so the next thing was to get something to lay on. but a little way off lay several cotton bales. at them [we] went and we soon had a \$1000 bed fixed. the sun was just going down and we was congratulating ourselves on having so nice and costly beds and what a good sleep we would have when orders came for our company to prepare to go on picket in twenty minutes. I tell you we felt provoked for we was so tiered that we could hardly go but it must be done by some one and it was our turn to go so we was ready by the time designated, went out was posted & got along as best we could, but we were not disturbed during the night.

Friday May 15th

The morning at last came and was as warm and pleasant as need be. I soon sent out a couple of the boys from my post to find something to eat as we was rather short of eating material. they went & soon returned loaded with chickens hams flour sugar molasses &c. some of the boys went to cooking while the others boys thought they would go back againe. they soon returned loaded down with china and reading material. our breakfast was soon ready and we sat down had the nicest kind of dishes and [all] that was good to eat. about 11 oclock we was ordered in. the regiment had gone out to tear up the R R but we were allowed to stay at our quarters. I washed my shirt in the afternoon. the boys raised the very old nick up town getting into stores & getting tobacco and every thing else they could lay their hands onto. the regiment got back about sundown. orders to march tomorrow.

Camp two miles in the rear of Vicksburg²³

May 23rd 1863

the battle field where bullets are every moment whistling over head may seem to you a peculiar place to write letters nevertheless in such a position

²³ After the capture of Jackson, Grant had immediately turned his forces west toward Vicksburg. By this swift move he prevented Johnston, who had evacuated Jackson and marched west toward Vicksburg, from joining Pemberton, who had come out of Vicksburg to stop Grant. Grant met Pemberton at Champion's Hill on May 16 and routed him after a bitter four-hour battle. The Confederates retreated along the railroad to the Big Black River bridge, where Grant again defeated them

am I writing. . . . we were in Jackson & staid one day & destroyed a great many government stores there. got in there the 14th & left the 16th for this place. got here the 18th. next day our brigade opened communications to the boats above V.²⁴ therefore we have the place completely surrounded and are now laying seige. yesterday a desperate charge was made along our whole line to gain their entrenchments. we went as far as wished so now our troops lay within from 3 to 5 rods of their entrenchments which cannot be scaled but our men are perfectly secure as they lay in a deep ravine and the rebs dair not look over to shoot at them. they have thrown some shell (with fuse burning) with their hands down the hill at our men but have done no damage yet. in the charge yesterday the slaughter was awful. fortunately for me our Brigade is held as reserve and did not get a man hurt. our Brigadier Gen is a man that understands his business and kept us sheltered well. he was formerly Col. of the 5th Iowa.²⁵ I think V is a doomed place. they can communicate with no place and men must eat so we got them. our troops are in good spirits and are confident of success. we have taken about 10,000 prisoners since our expedition was commenced. there was several days that we were very short of food but now have plenty. . . . during our march our feet got very sore but we all stood it finely. I stood it as well as any one in the crowd. am well now. I think will keep so. . . . The Morter boats keep dropping shell among the Rebs pretty thick so they cannot sleep very sound. the city has been set on fire several times by the gunboats. . . .

Camp in rear of Vicksburg May 28th 1863

. . . we still remain in our old position being on the elert all the time.

the following day. Sherman's forces, of which the 12th Iowa was a part, had remained at Jackson to destroy enemy stores, and did not take part in these two battles, only reaching Grant's position after the victory at the Big Black bridge. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:510-27; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 6-143.

²⁴ Sherman's 15th Army Corps was moved to the north of Vicksburg on the Yazoo River, where Federal gunboats were stationed. Encircling Vicksburg with his forces, Grant tried a quick assault on May 22, but the attack failed to dislodge the defenders, and Grant settled down to siege operations. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:527-31; Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 122-3; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 146-424.

²⁵ Charles L. Matthies of Burlington, Iowa. A Prussian by birth, he had served in the Prussian army before he came to Iowa in 1849. Served as Captain of Co. D, 1st Iowa, as colonel of 5th Iowa, made brigadier general in April, 1863, and given command of 3rd brigade, 3rd division, 15th Army Corps under Sherman. For sketch, see A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865). 131-8.

we are entrenching ourselves & advancing by throwing up one line & then another so we are going safe but sure & *Vicksburg must fall*. we have lots of troops any quantity of artillery and all the ammunition we need to shoot & all the crackers we can eat so I think we are all right. we are expecting the rebels to try to break out so we wear our accoutrements all the time and at night lay in line of battle with our arms. if they come out at all they will try to come out where our regiment lays & woe to them if they try it for we are ready for them. we think that their ammunition & provision are nearly gone. deserters say it is so & other things indicate it. Tuesday afternoon the rebs brought a flag of truce to bury the dead. it took place all along the line. all firing ceased and we got out of our place of concealment looked at one another and some passed the lines to see old friends. at 8 oclock hostilities were again commenced. our mortar boats keep shelling them all the time so I do not think that they can get much sleep. we are every day throwing their ammunition with their guns at them. we have taken over a hundred pieces from them in this expedition so they can not have much more field artillery. if they have they keep it pretty still. a deserter came in last night stating that they had orders to break out last night & night before but could not get volunteers to make the charge.

. . .²⁶

Head Quarters 3rd Brig. 3rd Div. 15th A. C.

Post Pocahontas Tennessee Dec 21st/63

. . . Excitement here runs high in regards to reenlisting.²⁷ the greater part of the 12th has already reenlisted and probably by this time have enlisted as a Regiment, that is, three fourths of the Regt. has, as three fourths have to reenlist before the old organization can be kept up. I think it will go almost unanimous. now about myself, I have not yet reenlisted but by tomorrow night I probably will. dont think hard of me nor think I have

²⁶ There is a break in Dunham's letters here. Vicksburg fell on July 4, 1863; the 12th was then moved back to Jackson, where it remained until July 23, then moved west again to Camp Sherman, about 20 miles from Vicksburg. Here it remained until October. In September the 15th Army Corps moved on Chattanooga, but the 12th Iowa was left behind and became part of the 17th Army Corps and moved eastward to Pocahontas, Tenn. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 124-34, 140. On September 3, 1863, Dunham was promoted to Fourth Sergeant. *Roster and Record*, 2:450.

²⁷ Special inducements, such as furloughs and bounties, were offered to men who would re-enlist as veterans for three more years. If a majority of a regiment re-enlisted, the original organization would be maintained. On Dec. 25, 1863, 298 of the 12th re-enlisted. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 142-3; *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

spurned your advice. it is to the contrary. I have weighed the matter well. I have studied on your advice. when I enlisted first I said I intended to remain a soldier until this cursed Rebellion was crushed. then, I knew not what I would have to withstand but now I consider I have some idea. My time will not expire until November/64 by that time the fall campaign will be at its highth. if my services are needed will not the government retain me? and would not I freely give them? if they are not needed neither will they be needed as Veteran. And againe my Regiment goes in. I am put in another Regt. to serve the remainder of my term, perhaps that Regt. has disgraced itself in some previous engagement. the 12th I contend has its share of the honors of this war. shall it loose any of the luster by me? No, it goes to Iowa, recruits up, and after a time returns with filled ranks, and as happy as can be, while I am compelled to remain and share the name of some disgraceful retreat. Supposing I serve the present term out, am honorably mustered out of the service, return home, still have good health, the war still continues, do you have the [e]last idea that I could remain quiately at home and see those boys who have been with me constantly for over two years, who have endured the same hardships have been through the same dangers, and now leave them to bear my burden? *Not much*. I have not yet fully decided to enlist, but a few days will determine the matter when I will immediately inform you of the result. . . .

Camp North of White River Ark. June 27th 1864²⁸

Having a little leisure I will try and give you a little more detailed account of our little fight on the 22nd which has proved to be a nicer affair than was at first supposed. We had been expecting an attack for several days but the enemy made no very great demonstrations until the 22nd. a little after 4 A. M. they succeeded in crawling up to within a few yards of our pickets. Charles Coolidge of our Co. was on vidette and hearing a suspicious noise was peering about to accertain from what source it came. he

²⁸ In February the 12th moved to Memphis and then down the river to Vicksburg. It remained in camp there until March, when those who had re-enlisted returned to Iowa for a 30-day furlough. On May 2 they returned to camp at Memphis. Two weeks later six companies were ordered to the mouth of the White River in Arkansas to establish a military post. After the post had been built, Companies A and F (Dunham's company) were left on guard, while the rest of the regiment returned to Memphis. On June 22 the men, numbering only 55, with 48 muskets, were attacked by the 10th Missouri and almost overwhelmed, but they put up a stubborn defense and drove off the attackers. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 169; *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

had looked but a short time when one of the rebs fired at him and it was maraculous that he escaped with his life. the reb undoubtedly fired at his heart, but Charley had his gun leaning across his body. the ball struck the upper band binding it breaking the ramrod and driving the band through the stock to the barrel. the ball then glanced off and struck him on the breast but not hard enough to inflict a wound. after the shot was fired the rebs charged yelling like demonds and fireing on the pickets and negroes who were coming into the stockade as fast as their legs could carry them. as soon as the first shot was fired every man in camp grasped his musket and in less than the twinkling of an eye were all at the stockade. for some seconds it was almost impossible to know who friend or foe was as the rebs pickets & negroes were all mixed up togetather. they at first came upon our front but finding no entrance their Col. gave the command to swing around on our right which they did at double quick time, and we swung around also and gave them a most galling fire. they succeeded in getting up to within a few feet of the stockade and it was then that Hunter was killed and Cottel wounded. the fellows that shot them paid dearly for it as they were both shot. John Bremner shot one, the ball passing through his back. the other was shot through the left eye the ball coming out and cutting off the top of his left ear. he was a lieutenant. there is a prospect of his getting well. they soon found it too warm for them and fell back into the cotton field and were reforming for another charge when the gunboat opened upon them and they left double quick. they were forming in column and would have made a desperate charge. we could liked to have followed them but it would not have been prudent as they outnumbered us eleven to one according to their own statement. so we have to be content with picking up the dead & wounded. Seamons Clapp was on picket & wounded before he got into the stockade and laid outside during the engagement. we immediately took the wounded onto the gunboat where they had every attention. we set the negroes to bur[y]ing the dead rebels and we got a coffin from the gunboat and in the afternoon buried Corpl Hunter with honors of war. the reb that John shot has since died. he asked John to write to his sister in Mo. and inform her of his death. when they retreated they took a citizen which lived near the picket post. he has since escaped and says they report twenty five killed wounded and missing. also that we had a thousand men some artillery and four gunboats. he says that they were awfully scared and I should think they were from the way the shoes were left sticking in

the mud. their force as near as we can learn was about 560, while we had 48 muskets engaged of which several was disabled during the action. several of them made considerable trouble to get them [to go] off. we had been so busy for several days and the weather so wet that was impossible to keep them in good order. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa Infy Memphis Tenn. Aug. 30th/64²⁹

Home again! not from a foreign shore but next thing to it. We arrived here last night at six oclock well, but with sore feet, ragged clothes, plenty of "real estate, and some live stock."

I will try and give you a short account of our trip from the date of my last letter. the 17th and 18th [of August] was rainy. the rest of the army came up with us and camped in our immediate front. . . . on the 19th ordered to march at 7 A. M. and accordingly started on time. went about a quarter of a mile and halted. about this time rain commenced falling fast. we remained there two hours and was ordered back to our camp, and we went back with a "yell." rain continued to pour down until night but by means of our rubber blankets we managed to keep tolerably dry during the night and the 20th but little rain fell and the 21st came off pleasant. marched at 7 A. M. Cavalry on the front and flanks 3rd Div. 16th A. C. taking lead of infantry. 1st Div. next and negro brigade bringing up the rear and guarding supply train. went nine miles crossed Hurricane creek and camped at 2 P. M. all quiet. roads very heavy for artillery and trains. 22nd revelle at 3 A. M. marched at 6. 1st Div. leading infantry marched to Oxford Miss. 9 miles by 10 A.M. halted and remained here until 4 P. M. while here reced a dispatch from Genl Washburn about the Memphis raid.³⁰ ordered to "about face" and went back to last nights camp. the rear and trains did not leave camp at all. on the 23rd moved back to our old camp on the Tallahatchie. as the rear came in the rebels made a dash

²⁹ Companies A and F of the 12th Iowa remained at White River until August, when they rejoined their regiment which had meanwhile made an expedition through Mississippi and fought a battle at Tupelo on July 13-15. *Roster and Record*, 2:413. The 12th was now in the 3rd brigade, 1st division, 16th Army Corps, commanded by Gen. A. J. Smith. After the victory at Tupelo the troops were active in Mississippi. In August they marched back toward Memphis, from whence they hoped to join Sherman near Atlanta. Dunham's letter describes this march. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 170.

³⁰ The Confederates, thinking Memphis unprotected while Smith's forces were skirmishing around Oxford, Miss., made a dash into the city. The 8th Iowa, on duty there, drove the raiders out. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 170.

with the intention of capturing the rear guard, but were not smart enough. the 8th Wis. & 47th Ills. Inftry charged on them killing 22 and wounded 7 both of which were left in our hands also captured a captain two lieutenants and several men. our loss one killed and 7 wounded. only two of the wounded had to be taken in ambulance, one of which died. since that we were not troubled any more. 24th laid in camp in afternoon. the regt. went foraging. I did not go. 25th left camp at 11 A. M. our brigade bringing up the rear. crossed the Tallahatchie 12½ P. M. . . . we marched very fast for three miles to avoid being shelled from the hills on opposite side of the river. I never marched when the heat was so oppressive before. most all of our men gave out and quite a number sunstruck. after the first three miles went at a more moderate pace. I came very near giving out fell behind about a mile. before going into camp we marched to Waterford nine miles. I went on picket. next morning (26th) started at 8½ oclock A. M. marched fast. the sun being under a cloud made it quite comfortable traveling. reached Holly Springs (distance ten miles) at 11 A. M. when we got within a mile of town Col. Stibbs reced orders for our Regt. to be provost guards.³¹ we were immediately distributed around town and while we remained had a fine time. I staid with a man by the name of Mosley. he fed me well gave me a good bed to sleep in and treated me first rate. he was a strong secesh but talked quite reasonable much more so than the northern copperhead. we had several interesting debates on the subject of rebellion. all in good humor and when I left he wished me well. perhaps before we had got a mile from town he was after us with a musket in his hand. on the 28th marched at 8½ oclock, our Regt. bringing up the rear of cavalry and all for a couple of miles and then passed up to the train. the army divided into three colums at Holly Springs. the 1st Div. and one Brig. of Cav. on the road to Lagrange [La Grange, Tenn.] the negro troops on the road to Collierville and the 3rd Div. on the Hernando road leading to this place. we belonging to the 1st Div. came on Lagrange road marched

³¹ According to Reed, as the troops approached Holly Springs they were met by a delegation of the citizens of the town "with a petition asking that the 12th Iowa be sent forward to act as provost guards again." General Smith "bit off the end of his cigar, chewed it up, and spit it out in the nervous way he had, and, with a superabundance of adjectives, said to the committee: 'The 12th Iowa is one of my best fighting regiments. I think it is a doubtful compliment for you ----- rebels to want it to guard your ----- town, and an imposition on the regiment to ask them to do it; but if those boys are willing to stand guard they may.'" *Ibid.*, 172-3.

to Davis creek (distance 23 miles) by sundown. the road was dusty and my feet were sore and was glad when we camped. 29th marched at 6 oclock and reached Lagrange at 10 A. M. and went into camp. the wagon train and artillery was sent on and the infantry sent on the cars. our Regt. came in last night at 6 oclock. it being the last of our Div. have got washed, clean clothes on and have consigned ragged clothes and live stock to the flames. We do not know how long we will remain here. probably not long as we are under orders to go to Sherman. The boys are all quite well. . . .

Camp 12 Iowa Infy Cape Girardeau Mo Oct 6th/64

We arrived here last night³² having marched about 350 miles in 19 days about the heaviest marching done during the war. the road lay through a desolate country and in some places almost impassable for our artillery and trains. part was rocky and mountainous and part swampy. considerable rain fell during the trip. we were on half rations all the time. The men are all completely tiered out and dirty and ragged as we can be. I have not had a clean shirt for over three weeks. we are to get new clothes today. we will propably start on another trip in a day or two. I am quite well but worn out. . . . I will try and give you a history of our march when I get rested. . . .

On Board Steamer Empire City October 14th 1864

Being somewhat rested from the fatigues of our long tedious march I will try and give you a synopsis of what we have done since we left Brownsville Arkansas until we arrived at Cape Girardeau Mo. We left Brownsville Ark. at 2 oclock P. M. on the 17th of september. The weather was extremely warm and the dust was sufficating. we went about ten miles where we came into timber and camped. on the 18th marched at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. passed through the towns of Austin & Stony Point and camped on Stony creek distance 20 miles. On the 19th moved at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. passed through Sercey. forded and camped on left bank of little Red River. distance marched 18 miles. for the last ten miles the country is somewhat hilly with some rock, showing that

³² The 1st division, of which the 12th Iowa was a part, was not sent to Sherman as planned, but detached to go into Arkansas after Confederate raiders reported preparing to attack Little Rock. Going by steamboat down the Mississippi and up the White River, the troops disembarked at St. Charles. Learning that the Confederate troops were heading north into Missouri, the 1st division set out to follow them, reaching Cape Girardeau, Mo., on Oct. 5, after 19 days of continuous marching. *Ibid.*, 174-9.

we are nearing a rough country. Little Red River is a very pretty stream about as wide as the Maquoketa and when we forded it was from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet deep. 20th moved at $5\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. country rough and stony. went into camp on Stevensons creek at 2 P. M. distance 17 miles. 21st moved at 4 A. M. Marched 25 miles and camped on right bank of South fork of White River. Country rocky & mountainous. in some places it was almost impossible to get the teams over. 2nd broke camp at $5\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. marched 15 miles & camped on Kura creek. 23rd built a bridge across north fork of White River. it [was] 300 feet long. completed it by 3 oclock P. M. and at $3\frac{1}{2}$ commenced crossing. (I should have mentioned the bridge was only about two miles from where we camped last night) after crossing we marched up the river ten miles and camped. 24th marched at 6 A. M. roads good weather moderate distance 25 miles, camped againe on White river. 25th marched at $4\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. reached Pocahontas Ark and camped. distance 25 miles. I was quite unwell and came near giving out. got an opportunity to ride the last miles. Gen Price³³ had been in Pocahontas a week before. 26th left camp at 6 A. M. marched 20 miles and againe camped on White river. up to this time the roads were very dusty so much so that it was stifeling to march in it yet it was impossible to avoid it since we had crossed on the bridge the country has been quite level and free from rock. 27th marched at 6 A. M. about 11 oclock rain commenced falling and fell in large quantities for two hours. this made the roads muddy & slippery. distance 18 miles. 28th marched at 6. roads very bad being in a swamp. crossed White River at 2 P. M. marched 7 miles and camped. the last two miles is terrible, our teams got stuck in the mud and we had to wait until 11 oclock before we could get any thing to eat as our rations were out. fortunately for me I had a few grains of coffee left & I made a little coffee in my cup. distance 16 miles. 29th commenced raining at 2 oclock this morning and poured down for four hours. the train and rear Brigade has not got up yet at 6. at 8 A. M. we started. and such roads as we had I never saw before and hope never to see againe. details of men were made to go along side of the wagons and lift on them. in some cases the ambulances with no load in them would get stalled and four mules could not pull them out. we went 7 miles and came out on dry land, when we camped. Our Brigade being in advance we got in [in] good season. being on short rations we began to be hungry. I had only half a cracker with a small piece of

³³ Confederate General Sterling Price.

meat to last till tomorrow night, so a lot of us started out to find something. went about a mile & a half and found lots of corn and sweet pumpkins. we loaded ourselves and went to camp and parched corn & stewed pumpkins for supper & breakfast. the rear go in about 12 oclock leaving several teams behind that had gave out. sufficient guard was left with them to bring them in when rested. 30th marched at 4½ A. M. the remaining teams got in an hour before. at ten oclock it commenced to rain hard which continued for two hours. the roads were very heavy but not sloughy until we got most to camp when there was a bad place which took the train six hours to cross. our Brigade being in rear did [not] get into camp until 11 P. M. we passed through Poplar Bluffs and crossed White river againe (distance 22 miles). I should have mentioned that we crossed the line into Missouri on the 27th when [we] crossed White river. October 1st moved at 6 A. M. rained hard for five hours. marched 16 miles and camped on a very elevated position. rumors of the enemy on our front in force. 2nd Moved at 6 A. M. the order of march is entirely changed which shows that an engagement may be expected at any time. passed Stephensons mills and went as far as Greenville, forded the St. Francis river and camped on its left bank in order of battle. distance 14 miles. 3rd Moved at 6 our Brigade in front. passed through Hog Eye forded Bear creek and camped on its left bank. roads good. distance 18 miles. reced orders to prepare for a forced march of 33 miles tomorrow. drewed our last rations tonight which consisted of one cracker a small piece of pork and a little coffee. this is to last us fifty miles. 4th moved at 4½ A. M., our Brigade in rear. commenced raining about 7 oclock and continued until 12 M. the roads were terrible but we trudged along and at half past one P. M. reached Dallas where we come onto a turn-pike road. by this time many of the teams had given out and it was almost impossible to get them along. a quite a number of mules was turned loose as neither whip or coaxing would get them along. we worried along until we got within 8 miles of where we expected to camp, when Col. Woods³⁴ halted our Brigade and told us to make a little coffee. we did so and after an hours rest againe started giving Col. Woods three cheers for our rest. it was now dark but the teams had got well out of our way and we made good time, reaching camp at 8 P. M. marching the 8 miles in a trifle over

³⁴ Col. Joseph J. Woods, the first colonel of the 12th Iowa, had replaced Col. Chas. L. Matthies in command of the 3rd brigade in June, 1864. *Official Record*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 153.

two hours. we built up huge fires but had little to cook and hundreds of us laid down that night hungry and quite often could be heard Oh! how I wish I could get into Mothers pantry. notwithstanding this we slept well. 6th was ordered to march at 6. just as we were ready to start a train of waggons hove in sight which we soon learned was bringing us Hard Bread. did not move until it was issued which took a couple of hours. at 8 we started passed through Jackson and reaching Cape Girardeau at 6 P. M., distance 20 miles, where we soon got full rations. A more worn out army is seldom seen. tiered hungry dirty and ragged. hundreds of the men had been without shoes for several days and going over the stony roads almost killed them. And now to sum up. 1st I cannot see what was the object of our expedition as we did no fighting. could not find force enough to engage our cavalry. 2nd it was miserably fitted out, the mules being poor and unfit for service, and the rations given us was old mouldy and wormy crackers & poor meat which had lain in the commissary store house for over six months and which the commissary could get rid of no other way. You will probably see in the papers (as I have already seen) *that not a murmur was heard in the ranks*. if so it is all a *confounded lie* for deep & bitter were the curses hurled at Genl. Mower³⁵ & I guess they were not unjust. Col. Stibbs³⁶ said it pleased him to see the men sit down and how systematically they could curse the Genl. I dont like to complain, but Ill be glad if some one else gets the command of our Division. I do not think he has any feeling for his men at all. We are on the Missouri river about 40 miles from Jefferson City. make slow progress, the river being very low. I hear no news.

. . .

Camp 12th Iowa Vet Vol Infy

Nashville Tenn December 6th 1864³⁷

Although the cannon are belching forth their messengers of death and the sharpshooters exchanging shots I seat myself to write you a few lines. We

³⁵ The expedition was under the command of Brig. Gen. Joseph A. Mower of the 2nd brigade, 3rd division, 15th Army Corps. *Ibid.*, 153.

³⁶ John H. Stibbs of Cedar Rapids. Promoted from captain of Co. D, 12th Iowa, to major (March 23, 1863), to lieut. col. (Aug. 5, 1863). Became full colonel Feb. 11, 1865. *Roster and Record*, 2:526.

³⁷ During the month of October the 12th Iowa marched across the state of Missouri, from St. Louis to Kansas City, and back in a fruitless search for Price and his Confederate troops. Meanwhile, Sherman repeatedly demanded that the 1st division be sent to him, claiming that Price's actions in Missouri were merely a diversion. At

are still on the line where we were when I last wrote you, have got up heavy works and feel confident of repulsing the enemy if he approaches us. we have two lines of entrenchments surrounding the city. we lay in the outer works and in case of an emergency will fall back to the inner which are about half a mile to our rear. the works in front of our regiment are made as follows viz. first we piled up rails about three feet thick and two and a half high, then have thrown dirt over them so that it is as high as my shoulder about six feet thick at the bottom and three at the top. on top of this are placed large logs raised a little so as to fire under them. in front of the works are placed the prickly thorn bush so thick that [it] will be almost impossible for a man to get over them and I am sure if this regiment lay behind them that no force can take them. we have a good deal of artillery more than we have infantry to support. artillery is brought to bear on every approach. I never saw men more anxious for a fight than they are now for they feel confident of success and are afraid if we do not fight here we will have to do some more hard marching. our artillery is shelling the rebs. they can be seen quite plain formed in line of battle. some of our men are perched in trees on the highest hills watching the effect of our shell. they make no reply. it is a mystery why Hood does not attack us for if he is ever ready he must be now. this morning the 72nd Ohio Inftry. went out on a reconnoissance and run on to a brigade of rebs who charged on the 72nd killing one and wounding five. all the rest came safe into camp. a few nights ago the pickets got to talking. reb said they were going to winter in Nashville to which our boys said if they tried to come in here they would winter in hell. A brass band has just struck up a national air. it contrasted finely with the booming of cannon. The sky has been cloudy all day and now appears like a storm. we have our tents so we will be quite comfortable. most of our baggage and convalescents are sent to the rear so we will not be bothered with them in case of an engagement. . . . After dark 7 P. M. I had to stop to issue some rations (as I am yet Acting Com-

last, on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 24, 1864, the 12th Iowa left St. Louis by steamboat, ordered to Nashville to support General Geo. H. Thomas. Confederate Gen. John B. Hood was moving toward Nashville in an attempt to draw Sherman away from Atlanta, which had fallen on Sept. 1, 1864. Sherman had already set out on his famous "March to the Sea." Refusing to be diverted by Hood, he had sent Thomas to Nashville, where he defeated Hood on Dec. 15-16, 1864. The 12th Iowa reached Nashville Dec. 1, and again became a part of the 16th Corps. Thomas deployed his troops around Nashville and prepared to meet Hood. Dunham's letter describes the part played by the 12th in this siege. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 190-194.

missary Sergt.) and now I will try and finish this. our batteries have ceased their shelling but now and then a heavy roar breaks upon our ears which tells us that our gunboats are saluting the enemy by an occasional broadside. the picket skermishing also becomes quite frequent. . . . I wish you could be here to see perhaps the most beautiful sight you ever saw. to us it is nothing new but still it looks beautiful. every hill and vale is lighted up by the camp fires. on one hill can be seen our signal lights and occasionally [you] can see the flash from the gunboats as they discharge their contents into the enemies camp. . . . Our batteries have opened againe and fairly make the earth quake. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa 10 miles from Nashville

Dec 18th/64

We are just going after Hood who is leaving without much ceremony. our Corps fought him two days. captured about 30 guns besides 4000 prisoners including 1 Brig Genl & two Brigadiers. it was a glorious struggle. our Regt. lost one killed (James Loring) and 15 wounded. it captured several guns & several stand of colors. . . . I saw most of the fighting from a high hill. it was grand beyond description. I am still acting Com Sergt and am not called into danger but I have to work hard furnishing the boys rations. I have not slept any for two nights and today I have a tremendous headache. it is raining, the roads are very bad. my clothes have been wet for 30 hours and from the looks they will be so for 30 hours longer. the boys are in line ready to move. they are in splendid spirits. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa After Hood in Tenn

Dec 27th 1864

We are still in pursuit of neighbor Hood who is leaving this vacinity as fast as he can. we are now about half way between Nashville and the tennessee river. we move slow, seem to be in no hurry which is one great beauty of the movement. the roads are very bad so the whole army have to move on the turnpike. I am thinking Hoods movement in tennessee will amount to about as much as Prices raid into Mo. it is evident he is leaving in a hurry as he leaves so much of his artillery behind. he threw one whole battery into Duck river which we got out and yesterday we found one piece buried. it had a head & foot board a mans name Co. & Regt. & day he died inscribed on it. (pretty Sharp) citizens report that he has only 7 pieces with him, we having taken all the rest. Genl. Thomas gives our Div. credit for 3100 prisoners & 32 pieces of artillery. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa Infy

Eastport Miss January 22nd, 1865³⁸

. . . The past week we have busied ourselves with cleaning up our grounds, drawing clothing washing our dirty clothes, cutting hair, shaving &c &c and now we begin to feel as if we might be white folks. have got our line of fortifications completed so now our duty is comparatively light and already the old faded look and action begin to wear off. it is surprising to see the change in the looks of the country around us. two weeks ago all the ground inside our works was a dense forest and now it is all cleared off. the logs off of the trees have [been] converted into cabins, the tops into firewood and the underbrush have been piled in heaps and burned. our camps look like a dwarf city and as we walk about in the evening no piano or malodian can be heard, but the silvery notes of the brass bands the schreeching of fifes the tapping of drums and the scraping of the violin breaks upon our ears in almost every direction. it tends to enliven us. tells us plainly that peace is not declared and that this is only a short respite in our great work. last evening on dress parade a congratulatory order from Genl. Thomas was read.

Day before yesterday Quarter Master Morrisy³⁹ who was captured at Jackson Miss. a year ago last July returned to us. he escaped from Columbia South Carolina and was thirty nine days getting through to our lines. he looks well [and] is bound to see the war through with us. was mustered yesterday as Quarter Master. . . . he was in prison with me and was paroled at the same time. he has served about two thirds of his time in prisons. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa Infy

Old Battle Ground of New Orleans⁴⁰

Feb. 23rd 1865

I seat myself on the ground (or rather in a mudhole) with my knapsack for a desk for the purpose of dropping you a few lines and inform you that

³⁸ After the pursuit of Hood, the 12th Iowa was ordered into winter quarters at Eastport, Miss., on the Tennessee River. *Ibid.*, 221.

³⁹ George H. Morrissey of Colesburg had been twice taken prisoner, once at Shiloh, and again at Jackson, Miss. *Roster and Record*, 2:417.

⁴⁰ On Feb. 5, 1865, the 12th Iowa was ordered to the support of Gen. Edw. R. S. Canby of the Dept. of the Gulf, with headquarters at New Orleans. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 224; *Roster and Record*, 2:414.

I am neither drowned nor eat up by varmints but its hard to say how long I will remain so.

My last to you was written at Memphis which place we left the 12th inst and arrived at Vicksburg the 13th. on the 15th we went ashore and went into camp four miles east of V, where we remained until the 19th when we again went aboard the steamer Magenta and on the 20th steamed down stream. after passing Grand Gulf the country was new to me and I enjoyed myself looking at it. it was splendid beyond description although it was mostly the work of art. the land is on a level with the river with exception of a few places. Natchez lays high and dry and is a splendid place. Baten Rouge looks pretty but is too low to suit my fancy. we arrived here the 21st. the wind being high we had to tie up at the upper part of the city. yesterday morning we dropped down here landed & went into camp. the ground is almost covered with water & is awful muddy. we have our tent picked [pitched] on the old rebel works so we manage to keep out of the water. but water is not all that troubles us. reptiles of every description is in abundance. last night John & I had a new bedfellow in the shape of an enormous toad. got into bed between us and I happened to touch it with my hand which brought us both to a sitting posture in the twinkling of an eye. the next performance was to light a candle and help the varmint out of the tent in rather an uncerimonious manner. for the rest of the night my dreams was all about toads snakes &c. I havent got snakes in my boots yet but I looked for some this morning when I got up. yesterday two of the 7th Minn. was bitten by a copperhead snake while getting some grass for a bed. I understand they are both dead this morning. I havent made up my mind yet which is the most dangerous, Copperheads of the north or Copperheads of the south. I shall content myself with laying in the mud rather than to pull grass for bed. John says if I make such a fuss tonight as I did last that you need not expect to hear from me againe.

We are camped on old Hickories battle ground. about half a mile distant is the monument raised on the spot where he stood and gave orders. I have not been to take a close look at [it] yet but intend to before we leave. New Orleans is a splendid looking city but I do not like the situation. . . .

We do not know where we will go to next summer. [some think] that we will go to Mobiel others think to Florida & others to Texas. as for myself wherever we go I hope we will go by land as I have no love for salt water. the expedition started for Mobiel several days ago and we are liable to be

thrown to any point on short notice as we are held as a reserve Corps. we never get orders more than six hours before we move and sometimes only as many minutes. . . .⁴¹

Camp 12th Iowa Infy

Somewhere in Southern Confederacy

March 21st/65

In order to give you minute detail of our movements I will write a little every day and then transmit my journal to you as often as convenient. I wrote you a line on Dauphin Island before we left there and will begin from that date (the 19th). we broke camp at 11 oclock A. M. and moved down near wharf stacked arms and remained there until after sundown when we went on board of Gunboat No. 48. this boat had formally belonged to the Mississippi Squadran. a little after dark steamed over near fort Morgan and anchored. the weather was fine and bid fair for operations of any kind. before going aboard we received a mail & I got a letter from you dated the 5th inst. 20th thin clouds partially overspread the sky and before night there was strong indications of a storm. at 9 A.M. we started up the bay. Genl Smiths Hd Qr boat taking the lead. Genl McCarthurs next with one (1st) Brigade of our Division on it. then the T. R. Groesbeck with 2nd Brigad. then our boat with our Regt and part of 35th Iowa. then followed several boats carrying the 2nd Division. proceeded up the bay to the mouth of Fish river (15 miles from Mobiel) and went up it about 10 or 12 miles and landed. went into camp about two miles from the landing. Fish river is but little wider than the Maquoketa, but is quite deep. the land on either side is low and covered with pitch pine timber. all the trees are tapped. we saw one quite extensive establishment for making spirits of turpentine. there is but few houses along the banks and most of those are deserted. 21st we had a tremendous rain last night and this morning but has stopped now for a time. we are pleasantly camped. the ground slightly rolling and sandy. the timber is all pine. it is as straight as an arrow. the boys say it would be fun to skirmish through here as there is no underbrush to bother. we expected to march today but I guess will not now, it being near noon. we are to draw one days rations which will include the 23rd. we are on the east side and about eight miles from the Bay. it is reported that we are to capture a fort opposite Mobiel which the boats cannot get at. if so we will

⁴¹ The 12th Iowa left New Orleans on March 2, 1865, and went by steamer to Dauphin Island, just outside Mobile Bay. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 226.

probably see fun soon. we have no teams along and but few of the officers have their horses. the boys are all anxious to get the work done for suspense is worse than fighting. 8 P. M. the clouds have cleared away and the weather is very pleasant. we got papers of the 18th this afternoon but they contain no news of importance. a part of our transportation and the officers horses have come up and the prospect seems favorable for remaining here a few days. hospitals are being put up which indicates that this may be made a base. the 13th Corps has arrived on the opposite side of Fish river and now pontoons are being laid for it to cross upon.

22nd. the day broke clear and pleasant. at 8 A. M. a report came in that the enemy was advancing in force. immediately the bugles blew the assembly. the long roll was beat and we fell in and moved out about a mile and formed a line of battle on a splendid position. the pickets were advanced and deployed as skirmishers. after staying a couple of hours it was evident that there was no danger and we returned. the 1st and 2nd Brigades remained out and commenced building works. Our Brig. could not go to work as our tools had not arrived. the rest of the day passed away quietly.

. . .

23rd The sun rose clear but a dense fog hid it from view from 7 A. M. until 9 A. M. when the fog cleared away. it had hardly dissappeared before the pickets commenced skirmishing. the reserve post moved out and drove the rebs about a mile killing three. none of our boys were hurt. we got all our things on but was not ordered to fall in until 10 oclock when we moved out and commenced to build works and now (5 P. M.) have them two thirds done. we build them on the following plan viz. we cut pine trees from two foot to two & a half in diameter and from 40 to 50 feet long and lay them along for a fondation. then cut braces about 8 feet long notch them on each side. lay the noched end on the log & the other on the ground then put a log in it until about 4 feet high. then throw dirt from the outside against them making the base six feet thick on the top four. this make a forminable work. a field piece would make no impression on it.

24th Weather pleasant. a detail of 50 men went out & finished the works this morning. the 13th Corps came in in the afternoon. we have orders to move at daybreak tomorrow. . . .

25th Moved at 8 A. M. the advance skirmished all the way. five men were wounded. Col. Marshall Comdg. our brigade was slightly wounded in the neck by some rebel sharpshooter on our flank. marched 7 miles and

formed camp in line of battle. threw up a line of works. I went on picket. all quiet along the picket line.

26th Moved at 7 A. M. skirmishing not as heavy as yesterday. marched 7 miles formed in line of battle and threw up works. . . .

27th Cloudy in afternoon rainy. moved at 7 A. M. marched 3 miles formed in line and invested Fort Blakely. drove the enemy inside their works. heavy skirmishing and artillery firing the rest of the day. four of our Regt is wounded. this is an old spanish fort and is very strong. do not know whether an assault will be made or not. have opened communication with our gunboats on the bay. . . .

28th Pleasant. heavy firing on both sides by both artillery and skirmishers. at 8 A. M. our Regt. moved back a few rods and fortified. finished them about 2 P. M. tonight we are going to raise a fort in front of us so that our guns can get a more enfilading fire on the rebs. are to have some 32 pounder Parrotts in a day or two. I do not think that we will assault the rebel works. it would be a needless loss of life as every one is of the opinion that they cannot be taken in that way. our gunboats are working their way through the obstructions and as soon as they can get through the rebs will be fast. both of our flanks rest on the bay so there is no retreat by land. about a mile to our left is a position from which the city can be seen. can see transports plying between there and the fort. our skirmishers get near enough to throw a stone inside the rebs fort and they pick off the gunners when they attempt to fire. notwithstanding they occasionally send a shell over here that make the boughs of trees fly. but few have been wounded today. since I commenced to write our gunboats are getting through the obstruction and have thrown several shells into the fort. it is reported that a rebel ram has started for them and they will soon meet & have a fight. I would like to be where I could see it. I am in hopes we will get mail soon. Since we left the river I have seen Gen. Canby several times. he is a very ordinary looking man and does not put on any style. every one seems to like him. he seems in no hurry and moves cautious. I believe he will not sacrifice men unnecessarily. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa Vet Vol Infty

Near Spanish fort Ala. March 29th 1865

It is now dark. a quiet begins to prevail along the lines. there has been heavy firing all day. the rebs throw their shell close to us but as yet none of our Regt has been injured by them. we are quite polite when they come

over us and bow as nice as you please. a little before dark some of us were playing ball. I was knocking. the ball was passed through and I struck at it with all my might. just as I struck a shell burst directly over our heads and the pieces of shell and splinters from trees come falling around us but did not hit any one. We stopped our play & sought shelter behind the works. this afternoon as the 29 Ills. was drawing rations a shell was thrown among a lot of men who were drawing. killed four & wounded 8. Our brigade is excused from picket skirmishing &c and are to do the digging. this will not be quite as dangerous but our work will be heavy. we are having some rain tonight. . . .

30th Pleasant. about 2 oclock this morning the rebs came out and tried to drive our skirmishers back but they made a complete failure. our boys would not drive worth a cent. the rebs have been tossing their shell over us quite lively. we expect some heavy guns tonight which will do a little good. a detail of 150 men from our Regt. went on the extreme right last night at 10 oclock and worked on a fort there until 1 oclock this afternoon. the guns from this fort is expected to fire on the water batteries and transports. about 3 P. M. we (our Brig.) broke camp moved to the extreme left of our line and are to hold the position that was occupied by the 1st division 13th Army Corps. it having gone to take rations to Steel[e]⁴² who is reported at Blakely on the Alabama river. just as we marched up here it was reported that the rebs was comeing out in force. we moved up to the top of the hill but no rebs come. it proved to be a false report. two of our monitors run onto some torpedoes and are temporarily disabled. In my last I said this was fort Blakely, but I believe I was wrong. it is called Spanish Fort.⁴³ it was built by the spanish and has been refitted by the rebs. we are laying directly in front (or rear I suppose it is) of it. it has two tier of guns and is bomproof. We have seen no late papers and do not hear any news. news boys will probably be arround soon as boats make regular trips.

31st Pleasant. quite a number of heavy siege guns were got into posi-

⁴² Major Gen. Frederick Steele, in command of "Column from Pensacola, Fla." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 108.

⁴³ Mobile was protected by two forts — Spanish Fort on the east and Fort Blakely, north of the city. Grant, who had long urged an attack on Mobile, felt that now, when the war was drawing to a close, its possession "was of no importance," and if left alone it would have fallen without any loss of life. Grant, *Memoirs*, 2:519. For account of capture of Mobile, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 87-322.

tion and at 8 A. M. the whole line opened with shell. the rebs replied with energy and as our works were not overly strong they had the best end of the bargain. the firing continued for two hours. from that until four P. M. the artillery was quite. but now (sundown) the shells are flying over us thick and fast. the battery which our boys got in position on the right yesterday has sunk a rebel transport and cut loos their wharfboat and it has drifted about half way to our fleet. it will be secured tonight. I went over where I could see the fleet today. it was laying quite but it is reported they will move up tonight and that the boats and the land batteries will open at 8 A. M. tomorrow. the day has been spent in strengthening our works getting heavy guns and mortars in position &c &c. the rebels communication is cut. they sent 40 women and children into our lines this afternoon. since I commenced to write they have increased their firing and now the pieces of shell are flying over us like hail. two pieces from 10 inch guns have fell into our company. fortunately no one was hurt. they do some of the best artillery firing I ever saw. they plant a shell exactly where they want it. I understand that quite a number of our Division were wounded this forenoon. Gen. Smith says they may send in as many troops as they wish to but no supplies. it is reported that Gen. Steel has captured two rebel trains and 1500 prisoners.

April 1st 1865 . . . The day has been very quite skirmishing was not as heavy as usual and the artillery was very quite only an occasional shot being fired. the rebs has thrown but few shell at our batteries but have shelled our skirmishers from their mortars. few were hurt. we got 8 mortars in position last night and they have been slowly at work all day. 8 more are at the landing and will be got in position as soon as possible. a battery of 20 pound Parrots is being planted a few rods to our left. they will probably open tomorrow. it is fun to see the mortars fire. the ball can be seen from the time it leaves the gun fifty feet until it lights on the fort. I would like to get a detail to help work one. there is to be a fort built about 200 yds. to our right where we have four 64 [pound] Howitzers.

2nd Pleasant. very quite all day. we have to do picketing now while in this posish and our Co. has to go on tonight. the pickets form our skirmish line. Genl. Steel has sent in a lot of prisoners. do not know the number. 3rd Quite last night and today until 4 P. M. when a battery of 20 lbs. Parrotts (ours) opened on the fort a few shots doing some of the most splendid shooting I ever saw. they fired directly over our Co. (pickets)

heads. soon after the rebs opened a gun from a fort to our right which put the shell all around us. fortunately no one was hurt. one piece of shell came near hitting John Bremner. one shell struck in the banks near Colman and completely burried him. he got out without difficulty. . . . we were relieved from picket at dusk. . . .

Camp 12th Iowa Vet. Vol. Infty.

Near Spanish Fort Ala. April 4th 1865

. . . the 4 64 lb. howitzers on our right were taken to our left last night and planted by the side of the battery of 20 Lb. Parrotts. two 30 Lb. Parrotts were planted where the Howitzers were. about 8 A. M. the rebs run up a flag over the fort and the skirmishers fired at it quite brisk with no effect. at last one of the 20 Lb. Parrotts opened on it the first shot passing over. the second struck it and burst at the same moment tearing it all in pieces and about six feet of the staff flew up twenty feet high. they cannot keep a flag up fifteen minutes. at 1 P. M. we broke camp and came back to our old posish. at 5 P. M. the artillery all along the line opened and fired for an hour and a half. the rebs made a feeble response with but little effect. we are getting our guns into such a position as to command any gun they have. after dark our Regt. moved out on the front line which is within 800 yds. of the rebel works. our skirmishers are within 50 yds. of them. we lay in range of two rebel forts but have works sufficient to protect us. then on our side of them is a ditch [ditch] four feet deep and eight feet wide where we lay in. we are going to work in a few moments to make it bomb proof. in case the rebs advance we get on top of it and our works still protect us. in the day time we will have to lay low for the sharpshooters will pick us off. the morters keep steadily at work. our Division has a lot of men at work making wooden morters. our Corps is getting better works and closer than the 13th Corps. I am glad of two things. 1st. that our Corps Commander (Gen. Smith) is a go ahead fellow and goes at his work with energy. & 2nd that he has some one to restrain him from some rash move. when we came here he wanted to make an assault from the word go and we got our things off ready for it but Gen. McArthur told him that he should never order his Div forward. . . .⁴⁴

6th Cloudy but no rain. this morning one of Co. I was wounded. he

⁴⁴ "General Smith appears to have asked permission to attack with two divisions [March 27]. General Canby doubted Smith's ability to carry the works and asked McArthur's opinion. After a careful inspection of the works, General McArthur is

stood near me but I was behind a bank of dirt digging. he asked me if our Co. had any spades not in use. before I could make a reply a minnie ball struck him in the leg passing through gouging the bone. he was taken back to the Division Hospital soon after. we have dug ditches so we can go back or carry back wounded without difficulty. only two of our division has been hurt today. at 12 M. a salute of 25 guns to each division was fired in honor of the news from Grant the taking of Selma Ala &c &c. I tell you it makes us feel good to get such news. we are getting more heavy guns into position near to the 2nd Iowa battery is three 30 Pdr Parrotts taken off of a tinclad boat and the sailors are to work it. still further to the right is a couple of 100 pdr Parrotts taken off a gunboat that has been sunk. our division has some men to work making wooden mortars which throw a six inch shell to be taken out by skirmishers. . . . two men can carry and work them. ammunition is got up during the night. the land lies different here from what I had expected, it being rolling and sandy. the top is black & white sand mixed. about two foot below it is red and is very hard. cannot dig it with a spade until loosened up with a pick. the water is very good and plenty.

7th Cloudy and rainy. our company was on fatigue duty this forenoon widening & deeping a ditch running to the skirmish line. there has been heavy firing up to Blakely all day. . . . there is to be two 100 pdr Parrotts planted 50 yards to our left. I understand that a day or two ago a rebel deserter came into our lines who has always lived near here and was conscripted into the rebel service. he helped to put in most of the torpedoes in the Bay and has taken the job to take them out for \$20,000.

8th Cleared off. heavy firing in direction of Blakely. nothing of importance transpired here until 5 P. M. when the artillery opened all along the line. the rebels made a feeble reply at dusk. a Brigade of the 3rd Division charged and took the works on the right. the artillery firing quieted down after dark but a heavy skirmish fire was kept up.

9th 6 A. M. at half past eleven the skirmishers of our Div. were evacuating Co K of our Regt and a Co of 47th Ills went on double quick and occupied Spanish Fort before the 13th Corps had any idea of what was going on and it lay immediately in front. as soon as our boys got in they set

said to have replied: 'My division will go in there if ordered, but if the rebels stay by their guns it will cost the lives of half of my men.' Canby's answer was: 'It won't pay.'" Reed, *Campaigns and Battles*, 228.

up a cheer and we fell in line. Maj Knee went out in front and came across some of the 13th Corps [and] asked what was the matter. they said the fort has surrenderd. he asked them how they knew. they replied dont you hear Smiths Gurillas raising H-ll in there.⁴⁵ about this [time] the Adjutant Genl of our Brig. came over to give orders to assault the works this morning. was surprised to find us in line. the Brig. was then marched in [it] being 12 oclock. after remaining there a short time returned to camp. it is impossible to say what we have got. probably 600 prisoners quite a number of guns and a quantity of ammunition. we have orders to march at 9 A. M. cannot say where we are going. the rebs were taken in small boats to a small island in the Bay and are getting away as fast as possible. a Mobiel paper of the 7th states that Montgomery is taken and burned. Selma and Cahaba also captured. The boys feel glorious. It is thought by some that we will go to Blakely across the river and go down on the City. I must close so as to get my duds packed up to move. . . .⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The troops under Gen. A. J. Smith were once referred to slightly by Gen. N. B. Banks as "Smith's Guerrillas," because they were not dressed as well as his troops. The soldiers adopted the name with pride. *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴⁶ Mobile was evacuated on April 11, 1865. Grant, *Memoirs*, 2:519. With the fall of the city, the troops were ordered north to Montgomery, Ala. En route, an officer galloped along the lines, shouting the news of Lee's surrender. The 12th Iowa was not mustered out at once, but stayed in service on garrison duty in Alabama until December. They were mustered out at Memphis on Jan. 20, 1866. *Ibid.*, 233-4; *Roster and Record*, 2:414.

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

DAVID BRANT'S IOWA POLITICAL SKETCHES

[In the April, 1955, issue of the JOURNAL, one of David Brant's political articles was published. The following several articles, first published in the Iowa City Republican in 1917 and 1918, cover gubernatorial politics from 1875 to 1889 — from the third election of Samuel J. Kirkwood to the defeat of the Republican party and the election of Democrat Horace Boies in 1889. Allowing for the fact that these are reminiscent articles, written long after the event, they give an eyewitness account of the inside workings of Iowa politics during these years when the Republican party was faced with the problems of railway regulation, prohibition, and farm unrest. Two recent articles, based on modern research, may be of interest as giving further elaboration to the story as told here by David Brant: Leland L. Sage, "Weaver in Allison's Way," *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1953; and Jean B. Kern, "The Political Career of Horace Boies," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, July, 1949. — EDITOR.]

General Weaver's Defection

The only man in Iowa who ever went out to the people and secured the instructions of a majority of the delegates to a state convention for governor, or any other office, was General James B. Weaver, and he was defeated in the convention. This was in 1875. The republican convention that year was an exciting one, its action having a far reaching effect upon Iowa politics. One impression that has become general, based upon repeated misstatements, is that General Weaver was so disappointed that he immediately left the republican party. Such, however, is not the case. He entered the campaign that year with vigor, and made more speeches for Kirkwood and the republican party than any other man. In a single copy of the Des Moines Register appeared thirty-one different appointments for him.

That his defeat was a great disappointment to General Weaver no doubt is true. It would be to any man under like circumstances. In the presidential campaign in 1876 General Weaver took an active part, supporting Hayes and the republican state and congressional tickets. But a year later,

after taking part in the convention that nominated John H. Gear for governor, General Weaver announced his repudiation of the republican platform and his support of Daniel P. Stubbs of Fairfield, for governor. It is not improbable that if General Weaver had been nominated for governor two years previously, his objections to the financial policy of the party would not have been so serious, and like many others who had objected to the resumption plans, would have accepted them without serious protest. Up to that time the Des Moines Register, the Chicago Inter-Ocean and many other papers, had stood with General Weaver on the question of greenback currency, but when the republican party shifted to the coin standard, virtually the gold standard, they went with it, regarding the democratic position little less than repudiation of public debts.

General Weaver, Solon Chase and other greenback leaders, claimed the republican party left them. In a measure that is true, but in the light of subsequent events, the party was right and they were wrong.

The convention of 1875 was my first. I was then a resident of Iowa City, a student in the state university, with little political experience or interest. I was not at home when the county convention was held, but one of the delegates who could not go, arranged to have me substituted for himself. The convention was a revelation to me. I met many of the big men of the times with most of whom I afterwards became well acquainted. In other words, I got the convention fever and have never recovered.

Possibly my youthful impressions were faulty, but somehow I got the impression that they had the old guard, and a new guard, each wanting to run things. Such things have happened in later years. If so, then General Weaver was trying to break through the trenches of the old guard, and only a severe counter attack prevented his full success.

I had met General Weaver through relatives in Davis, his home county, and I wanted to see him nominated, but the wise old leaders said it might split the party, so being in a decided minority on the Johnson delegation, I subsided.

On the train to Des Moines were delegates from Scott and Muscatine counties. They were all against Weaver, declaring that his nomination would defeat their county tickets in the river counties. Undoubtedly they preferred one more liberal on liquor legislation than General Weaver, but viewing the results of that convention after years of observation, I am inclined to think that leadership was the real cause of General Weaver's de-

feat. A new prophet had arisen and he must be shown a back seat. This view is confirmed by what had happened previously. George W. McCrary had been congressman from the first district for three terms, and he declined to accept another election. General Weaver was a candidate, and he carried a majority of the delegates, but candidates were brought out in his counties, and finally, after a long contest, he was beaten. General Weaver and his friends renominated McCrary, but he informed the convention that he felt that General Weaver had earned the nomination and hoped the convention would name him, but later, when it was evident that he could not be nominated, McCrary accepted. To make sure that General Weaver would not bother the district again, the republican members of the legislature, who were opposed to Weaver, secured such rearrangements of districts that Davis county, the home of Weaver, was put into the sixth district. It was this action, I have been told, that led General Weaver to become a candidate for governor.

It was long after midnight when I left the Aborn [Hotel] lobbies, which then was hotel headquarters in Des Moines, and everybody seemed to be on the jump politically. I learned at a meeting of the Johnson county delegates that plans were being perfected to nominate Governor Kirkwood. Robert S. Finkbine was the leader of the delegation, and at all times was Kirkwood's most effective manager, especially later when he was nominated for United States senator. Kirkwood was then a candidate to succeed Senator George G. Wright, and his friends feared his nomination would injure his chances for the senate. Later I was told that pledges were made during the night which virtually eliminated Hiram Price of Davenport, who was considered Kirkwood's strongest opponent.

During the evening a telegram was received from Governor Kirkwood in which he emphatically declined to become a candidate and declared that he would not accept if nominated. But that did not stop the efforts to nominate the old war governor.

Apparently Weaver and his friends went into the convention with no doubts of his nomination. Congressman [William] Loughridge of Oskaloosa was temporary chairman. In the afternoon the permanent organization was effected with Congressman H. O. Pratt of Charles City as permanent chairman. Mr. Pratt later resigned his seat in congress to enter the ministry of the Methodist church.

When nominations were called for, Frank T. Campbell of Newton, then

a state senator, placed Weaver in nomination. John A. Van Valkenburg named Gear, and the other two candidates were placed in nomination, being Col. Robert Smythe of Linn and W. B. Fairfield of Floyd. Then arose Dr. Ballard of Audubon county, he was a large man, over six feet tall with white flowing hair: "I nominate Samuel J. Kirkwood," was all he said, and he sat down. A storm of applause followed. Then General M. M. Trumbull of Dubuque arose and asked Dr. Ballard by what authority he named Kirkwood. "By the authority of the great republican party of Iowa," he thundered, and then the convention went wild with its shouting, or at least a part of it did, seconded, if not actually led, by the galleries. Then the opponents of Weaver stood up and shouted, but it was noticed that fully half of the delegates kept their seats.

Then came the second act in the dramatic situation. John Russell arose and said that no matter what might be his personal ambitions, he could never permit them to cross the tracks of Iowa's great war governor, and he asked to withdraw his name from consideration. As soon as partial quiet could be secured, Gear was recognized. He thanked the party for past honors and withdrew. He said he did not think any loyal republican should stand in the way of fresh honor coming to Iowa's foremost citizen.

At this point Frank Campbell, Weaver's floor manager, arose and asked if telegrams had not been received from Kirkwood in which he declared he would not accept the nomination. There was no answer to this, except calls from various parts of the house to nominate him anyhow, and others who said, "we don't care if he has, we'll nominate him."

It should be remembered that this was only ten years after the close of the civil war, and every delegate present remembered the grand work done for the country by Kirkwood, who had no rival, except Morton of Indiana, Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Andrew of Massachusetts, for services as war governor. The name of Kirkwood then had a magic power.

Before the convention adjourned, the Johnson county delegation had a telegram from Kirkwood, I think it was addressed to R. S. Finkbine, directing that his declination be offered to the convention. General Ed Wright, former secretary of state, wired Kirkwood that he must accept, but he received an answer saying that he would not. Hurried conferences were held, the decision being that it would be useless to present the declination. It was said General Weaver declared that after being defeated, he would not then accept the nomination. He came over to the Johnson delegation and

conferred with General Wright of Polk and Finkbine. What was said I do not know.

An informal ballot followed in which Kirkwood received 268, Weaver 200, Smythe, 111, Fairfield 33. On the first formal ballot Kirkwood was nominated. When the roll call was completed, delegations began to change to Kirkwood, and Capt. J. A. T. Hull, then of Bloomfield, moved the nomination of Kirkwood by acclamation. Those who had kept track of the ballot said that Weaver was beaten by but 15 votes when the changes came.

It was at this convention where the liquor question first appeared for party consideration. Conventions were run differently than in later years. Everybody who wanted to, fired in resolutions and they covered many subjects.

At the morning session a committee was appointed on resolutions, of which Edward Russell, editor of the Davenport Gazette, was chairman. Mr. Russell was an Englishman and like many others of his kind, never surrendered the idea that free trade was a God given benefit that all lands should adopt. No doubt his position led to the adoption by that convention of the remarkable dogma that the republican party of Iowa favored a tariff for revenue. The platform also declared for the gradual resumption of specie payments, and opposition to a third term for presidents. When the committee made its report, it was taken up section by section, with full opportunity to offer amendments. A declaration in favor of retaining all forms of legal tender paper money was beaten by only a few votes.

But it was the liquor question that sent the convention into a near panic. Somebody had offered a resolution declaring that the party would stand by temperance legislation, which was sent to the committee, but it reported back a mild substitute. All these resolutions were so mild that now they would hardly answer for a Scott county personal liberty declaration, but they stirred the animals of the 1875 circus to a remarkable degree. General Weaver made a moderate talk, in which he said the prohibitory law had been maintained for years by the republican party and there need be no fears of any change of policy. Judge C. C. Nourse of Des Moines spoke earnestly of honest and open political declarations of what a party intends to do. Most of the speaking was in opposition, which was led by Waldo M. Potter, editor of the Clinton Herald. It may seem strange, in light of subsequent events, that the last speaker against the temperance resolutions was Frank Wright of Charles City. He said that he did not believe that because

he happened to be a temperance man, he should ram his notions down the throats of others. He moved that all resolutions be sent to the table, which carried. . . .

[Iowa City Republican, Aug. 2, 1917.]

When Gear Was Nominated for Governor

As republicans we have had some lively times in Iowa during the last fifteen years, and the democrats have not been in a bed of roses all the time. But we doubt very much if any year has seen as much excitement, so many differences, and as much rancorous discussions within the dominant party in this state as we had back in 1877. The nomination of Kirkwood bridged over the troubles only till the next contest for governor.

With the resignation of Governor Kirkwood [to enter the United States Senate], Joshua G. Newbold of Mount Pleasant became governor. He had been state senator, and had considerable state acquaintance, but he was not in the running class with John H. Gear and Buren R. Sherman, who were red hot after the nomination for governor. Governor Newbold had written some letters and in one of them he had misspelled words. This letter got into print, showing misuse of capital letters as well as bad orthography. His enemies seized upon this and tried to make him the subject of ridicule. When he appeared at the hotels prior to the convention it was noticed that the inside of his trowsers [sic] just above his ankles had holes and were frayed. In those days everybody wore boots. The legs would settle down in wrinkles about the ankles. These would rub together and leave mud upon the cloth. You can almost always tell a Henry county man by looking at the lower inside ends of his trowser legs. They have black soil down there which sticks like a poor relation, but you could not go all over the state and explain this to the people. Bad spelling, misuse of capital letters, and frayed "pants" was all they could hatch up against Uncle Joshua Newbold. If he had received the votes of all the bad spellers in the convention he would have been nominated before the roll call was half completed.

Buren R. Sherman was auditor of state at the time with ambitions to be governor, but his time had not come, not yet. Mr. Gear was nominated on the first formal ballot. . . .

The prohibition forces were very active that year, after having failed in two legislatures to secure the repeal of what was known as the "wine and beer clause" of the prohibitory liquor law. The democratic legislature of

1854 had adopted a prohibitory law, with a provision that it should go into effect only when adopted by a majority of the voters of the state. In 1855 the vote was taken and the law was approved, but two years later it was amended, by excepting beer and wine made from fruits grown in the state. It was claimed that the Republicans were responsible for this action, due to a deal with the Germans of the state who were then coming in great numbers, and [who] on the national questions then predominant, were inclined to be republicans.

The amendment left the sale of beer and wine absolutely as free as tea and coffee. The political reply to the prohibition demands was to let well enough alone. It was contended that if beer and wine were prohibited and all saloons closed, there would be a revolution, with a general license law the result. The State Temperance Alliance, with Judge H. W. Maxwell of Des Moines, at its head, was a strong and effective organization. Its officers and leaders were in attendance at the convention, and of course were opposing Mr. Gear. After his nomination they met and prepared a statement of their own position and propounded a number of questions to the republican candidate. This paper was placed in Mr. Gear's hands before he left the city.

The state platform related for the most part to national affairs, with a demand for coinage of silver on a uniform basis with gold. At the conclusion of the reading of the platform, Rev. D. R. Lucas of Des Moines offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we are in favor of the rigid enforcement of the prohibitory liquor law and any amendment that will render its provisions more effective in the suppression of intemperance."

This was referred to the committee on resolutions, from which it was reported back for the consideration of the convention. Rev. Lucas declared that the convention dared not adjourn without adopting this resolution. Evidently the convention took that view of the situation and adopted the same by a large majority, without roll call.

Unfortunately, or possibly fortunately, Mr. Gear responded to calls and had made his speech of acceptance while the committee was considering the resolution, and consequently made no declaration relative to it.

After the convention the newspapers engaged in a debate as to what the resolution meant. Did it commit the party to the adoption of an amendment to make the law more effective, or did it merely declare that the party

avored the rigid enforcement of any amendment that might be adopted. Prohibitionists who supported Mr. Gear, took the former view, while prohibitionists who opposed him, as well as those in the strong anti-prohibition counties, contended there was no declaration in favor of any amendment, but all related to enforcement.

The next day I went to Mount Pleasant from Des Moines and it so happened that I sat in a seat just behind Mr. Gear and some other Burlington delegates. James F. Wilson, former congressman and afterwards United States senator, came along and stopping in the aisle, engaged in conversation with the Burlington men. Naturally the subject of the Alliance resolutions came up and somebody advised paying no attention to them, but Mr. Wilson emphatically replied that the communication must have a frank answer. With this Mr. Gear agreed.

Mr. Gear replied to the communication, saying that he stood with the republican party in its well known position on the temperance question, and that if he were elected governor, he would use his official position to enforce all laws. This did not prove satisfactory, the result being that soon afterwards the alliance nominated Senator Elias Jessup of Hardin County for governor, who entered upon an active speaking campaign. He received something over 10,000 votes, and that did not represent more than half the prohibition defection.

The Greenback party that year was very active. It met and nominated Daniel P. Stubbs of Fairfield for governor. Mr. Stubbs had been a republican and had represented his district in the senate. He was a forceful man and a fair campaigner. It was after his nomination, as I have said before, that General Weaver publicly repudiated the republican party to join forces with the greenbackers.

The republican defection put some life into the democratic state convention, which nominated John P. Irish of Iowa City, editor of the Press, and a democrat of national standing. He made a speaking tour of the state. He told me that he had \$65 when he started out on his campaign and a few dollars left when election time came.

The republican candidate for lieutenant governor that year was Senator Frank T. Campbell of Newton. He was recognized as a prohibitionist. He was a good speaker and a very forceful man. The democratic candidate for the second place was Judge James of Council Bluffs. . . .

Mr. Gear, was not a strong public speaker, but he could make a sensible

talk, and these talks were effective. He had been speaker of the house of representatives two terms, and was an experienced business man with considerable acquaintance over the state. But the feeling among the temperance people was intense, and when the votes were counted it was found that while elected, Mr. Gear had less than a majority, being over 20,000 [*sic*. 6,000] behind others on the state tickets.

When he became governor he told his friends that he intended to give the people an administration that would win him a clear majority for re-election. He had a wonderful personality. He was candid, unassuming, and always sincere. He was no show governor, seldom making any public addresses. The law then required the governor to visit all the state institutions at least twice and possibly it was four times a year. Governor Gear considered that this meant more than a visit. He came to Iowa City less than two months after he was inaugurated, and it was at this time that I first formed a personal acquaintance with him, an acquaintance that was a delight to me up to the time of his death. At that time I was correspondent of the Davenport Gazette and Mr. Edward Russell, the editor, asked me to get an advance copy of the governor's address which he was expected to give at the medical graduation, which then occurred in the winter time. Hearing that Governor Gear was in the city I set out to find him. I supposed that he would be at the home of the president of the university, but the president said he had not seen the governor. Finally somebody told me he had seen the governor go in Judge Haddock's office. He was the secretary of the university and kept the records. On entering his office, I saw the governor at a table, with coat, vest and collar off, rapidly looking over papers.

During the four years that Gear was governor, he personally visited every state institution and checked over the books and accounts. It is said that his knowledge of grocery and provision prices, being a wholesale grocer, saved the state thousands of dollars. In that way he acquired the title of "Old Business."

Showing Governor Gear Mr. Russell's letter, he said that he had not intended to prepare any address, but would write out something if he could get time. That evening he declined an invitation of Dr. Thatcher [*sic*. George H. Thacher], president of the university, to a dinner party, in order to put his thoughts into writing. His manuscript covered several pages written in pencil. I could not read the first line, but that was not my business. I sent it to the Gazette and it appeared the next morning.

This reference to Governor Gear's writing recalls an incident of a number of years later. It was while the governor was in congress I received a letter from a student at Tilford academy, asking for pointers on a debate relative to executive vetoes. Recalling that Governor Gear had referred to this subject in a state paper, I wrote him at Washington, asking for references. He not only sent the library references, but added fourteen pages of manuscript arguments. I forwarded the papers to the student, but in a few days it was returned, with the statement that nobody in Vinton could read the writing. I had improved somewhat in manuscript reading since the Iowa City incident, so I had it copied by a better writer than myself, from my own dictation. Governor Gear did not write a bad appearing letter. It was when he used a pencil and got into a hurry that his pencil went gliding across lines. Governor Gear was entitled to a position as writing master compared with Governor Larrabee. . . .
[*Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 23, 1917.]

Republicans Drifting to Prohibition

Governor Gear, as has been stated, having been elected by a plurality, instead of a majority vote, seemed earnest in his wish to so conduct the affairs of his office that he could be re-elected by the united republican party. In this effort he did not set out to placate the radical prohibitionists, but he sought to win support on personal and administrative merits. When the legislature met no serious attempt was made to amend the prohibitory liquor law, and it may be truthfully said that the governor did nothing in the way of enforcing the laws, as there was no authority vested in him other than the constitutional mandate. He did what other governors had done. At that time the state was divided into judicial districts, with a prosecuting attorney for each district, so arranged that each county had but two terms of court annually. We do not recall but the people were as well served then judicially as they are now with four times as many judges, with a prosecutor in chief in each county and an army of secret deputies, costing about a half million dollars annually.

It was during Governor Gear's first term that the Francis Murphy and the Blue Ribbon movement swept over the country, and while these influences were not closely allied with law making, still they intensified the situation. Governor Gear was not a total abstainer, nor a prohibitionist, and he made no effort to conceal his convictions. In the winter of 1879, John W.

Drew, who conducted the Blue Ribbon work in Iowa, held a series of meetings in Burlington. Some of the politicians advised the governor to attend these meetings and to sign the pledge. He said that he had no especial objections to signing, but he disliked the appearance such a course would have of political inconsistency. He rightfully said it would disgust both the temperance people and their opponents.

It was at this time that a number of republican politicians fell in with the idea of submitting a prohibitory amendment. They reasoned that this would please the prohibitionists and that when the amendment was defeated, as they supposed it would be, prohibition would be eliminated from politics. In this they set the prairie on fire and lost their own fences.

It was sometime early in Governor Gear's second year that I happened to be in Burlington. On returning to my hotel in the evening I received a note from Governor Gear, asking me to call at his home, at my convenience, any time up to midnight. As I had at that time never talked with the governor ten minutes in all, I was somewhat surprised, although naturally much pleased to receive the invitation. I reached the hospitable Gear home about 9:30 that evening. I found the governor and Mrs. [Gear] seated in front of a cheerful fire in an old fashioned fire-place. Mrs. Gear was knitting and the governor was reading. I was cordially received and was presented to Mrs. Gear. . . .

I was naturally curious to know why I had been invited to visit the governor. Being a young man, with no political standing or experience, I was somewhat surprised when Governor Gear at once began to talk of the political situation. He repeated to me what he had said publicly, that he was anxious to so administer the affairs of his office that he would win the support of the prohibition element of the republican party. He seemed at a loss to understand why a convention should be called to consider the matter of nominating a candidate for governor, even at that early day before any of the party conventions had been called. He said that he had been fair with everybody, and that under his administration, the laws were being as well enforced as they had been under Governors Carpenter and Newbold, both of whom were rated as strong temperance men and prohibitionists. He spoke of the movement to have the republican party declare for the submission of a prohibitory amendment. He said he had no objections to such a course, as the people ought to have the right to express their sentiments upon public questions. He did not share the views of others that

the amendment would be defeated and that it would relieve the party of embarrassment. He predicted that the party would be taking on a load that would lead to no end of trouble.

A convention had been called to meet in Cedar Rapids to consider the advisability of nominating a candidate for governor, or a full ticket. Governor Gear had the call in his pocket. I had not seen it. The moving spirits were Solon H. Fidler of Davenport, publisher of the *Blue Ribbon News*, and a brother of Buren R. Sherman, also of Davenport. It looked a little curious that such a movement had Davenport for its birthplace, but things are born in all sorts of places and under all variety of circumstances.

If I have ever been in the game of politics, I think I entered it sitting before that cheerful Gear fire. I had been at a few caucuses and conventions, but only as a follower. As the governor talked about that convention, my mind turned to the practical side of the situation, and I said why not control that convention? Governor Gear quietly remarked "That might work, but I cannot either control it or advise that it be done." After replying that he also could not help what others might do, the subject was dropped.

I returned to my home in Iowa City and in a day or two went to Cedar Rapids where I conferred with a number: Charles Weare, who knew the political game from the beginning and who followed the chase till he died, Col. A. D. Collier, F. J. Upton, Major Young of Marion and many others. I also went to Mount Vernon and found some of the Cornell professors ready to take a hand in the convention.

For a gathering of less than 100 people that convention was a corker. Fidler and Sherman of Davenport, Rev. Dr. D. R. Dungan of Oskaloosa and J. P. Pinkham, lecturer for the state temperance alliance, were strongly for making a nomination. They denounced Governor Gear in scathing terms. Dr. Dungan was a man of great force and power. When he said, "Thus sayeth the Lord," he never had a doubt but that he was the living oracle of the Almighty. He was a minister of the Christian church, much given to theological debates. He had been located at Eldora and later had taken over the church at Oskaloosa, and I believe was associated with the college there which afterwards became a part of Drake university.

After a bitter and stormy debate lasting several hours, a resolution was adopted declaring against making a nomination, only about a dozen voting in opposition. That dozen then repaired to the Grand hotel where they

nominated Dr. Dungan for Governor. The action of the convention, however, cleared the way for practically a united party behind Governor Gear for his second term.

While it is admitted that a number were urged to attend the convention, it is not true that they were politicians not having a right to participate under the call. . . .

At the convention that year Governor Gear was unanimously renominated and was elected by the usual majority, Dr. Dungan getting but a small vote. The party also declared for the submission of a prohibitory amendment, thus taking on a big White Elephant which was never a very good performer.

[Iowa City *Republican*, Sept. 6, 1917.]

Major Buren R. Sherman for Governor

One of the most spectacular campaigns Iowa has ever had was that which centered around the candidacies of William Larrabee and Buren R. Sherman in 1881 for governor. Others contested, but the talk was all about these two men. Larrabee had been in the senate almost sixteen years and Sherman was auditor of state. The latter had been an aggressive candidate against Governor Gear four years previously. He had accepted defeat like a good sport, which won him many friends. The campaigns were characteristic of the two men. Larrabee was a business man, methodical in his ways. Was a hard worker and talked but little. He was systematic and a good organizer. Sherman was a whooper-up. He was the best hand-shaker Iowa has ever known. He was a way up Mason. If they had a fifty second degree, Sherman had the mysteries at his finger tips. He was a Shriner, a Knight Templar, a Grand Army man and a member of the Loyal Legion, then just being organized. When the Shriners met in those days there was something doing. Ever seen a state convention of the Elks? Well, they go some, but they gather by the thousands. The Shriners were not so numerous, but when it came to a one night stand, well, not being a Mason we do not feel inclined to give way the secrets, although we have dined with them and observed a few things.

The bankers of the state, unless actively in the Sherman brotherhoods, were for Larrabee. So were many business men, and farmers too. But the boys were for Sherman. It is not at all likely after Sherman drew his modest salary of less than \$200 a month, had paid his rent, meat and grocery

bills, that he at any time had as much as \$2.50 he could honestly invest in his campaign. But the Watson [sic] at Vinton and the Bever boys at Cedar Rapids had some money and they never left Shriner Sherman in the lurch.

The campaign had not advanced far until the Sherman supporters began to report the presence of Larrabee checks in greater number than the secret service now uncover plots and German spies. It was a cool day when several counties did not send in news reports of checks being cashed by Larrabee workers.

The Sherman men had a happy faculty of rounding up the prohibition support for the Shriner cause, although Larrabee was well known as a strong temperance man personally, but he had not been voting the the senate as the prohis wanted him to do.

In nearly every county in the state there was a hand to hand contest, with grenades, poisonous gas and other weapons of political war. The majority took all, or nothing. Perhaps it would be more within the truth to say that the side which got the convention organization took everything. If the chairman of the county committee was not overruled or put out of the hall, he named the chairman. The chairman named the committee to select the delegates, and the committee seldom made mistakes.

I had just moved from Iowa City to Cedar Rapids the year of this contest. I had graduated in the preliminary political course offered in Johnson county, and had seen considerable service in convention manipulation, for they were no back numbers in this county. But it was in the spring of 1881 that I began studying under the instructions of Judge Hubbard for my masters degree.

I was city editor of the Cedar Rapids Republican, which had changed to a morning paper in March of that year. The head of the editorial column announced that J. R. Sage, afterwards the well known weather man, and D. G. Goodrich were proprietors, but I soon learned that if there was to be no misconnection with the weekly salary, a man named Nathaniel M. Hubbard must be taken into consideration. . . .

When the time drew near to select the Linn county delegates to the state convention, the fun began. The talk was all Sherman. George Bever, Cyrus W. Eaton, Major M. A. Higley, Captain H. I. Smith and a host of Grand Army and Shriners were out for Sherman. Charles Weare was saying nothing. Henry Rickel, formerly of West Union and Fayette county, seemed to be about all there was to the Larrabee side. The whole of Rapids township,

which included all of Cedar Rapids city and a tract six miles square, then held but one caucus in the city hall, which when connected with the firemen's room, would not seat more than 200 and not more than 300 of the 2,000 republicans of the city could be squeezed into the hall. On the afternoon preceding the caucus I met Captain H. I. Smith. He had taken a half day layoff from the B. C. R. & N. machine shops in order to get in his best licks for Sherman. The caucus was called for 7:30 p. m. A few minutes before that time I went to the hall to report the caucus. I found a mob of several hundred in front of the city hall. They were the Sherman men. Major Higley, Eaton, the Bevers, and their friends, were on hand, but not in the hall. The stairway was jammed full of excited men. In order to get into the caucus I borrowed a ladder from the fire department and finally got those blocking the window to let me through. The room was full. Every chair was occupied by the B. C. R. & N. shop men, trainmen, clerks and in the center sat President Ives and J. C. Broeksmit, auditor of the road and also Captain H. I. Smith. The aisles and room around the walls were taken. Not another could be admitted.

It was the most harmonious caucus I ever attended. The chairman rapped for order. In fact there was silence in all parts of the room. The chairman called the Honorable Charles Weare to the chair. He asked what was the pleasure of the convention, just as though he had a doubt in that respect. Hon. Henry Rickel moved that a committee of five be selected to name 44 delegates to the county convention. This carried unanimously. The Honorable Charles did not have to feel in his pocket to learn who was to go on that committee. He had a good memory. The only discordant note came from one Sherman man who had got in by some mistake. He called attention that the call for the caucus said it was to be held "at" not "in" the city hall. He said there were 500 republicans on the street "at" the city hall, and not over 300 "in" the city hall. He suggested that those "in" the hall should go out on the street and join with those "at" the hall. He did not get a second.

If this had been in the opening years of the twentieth century those "at" the city hall would have organized and elected delegates. But that manner of doing things was then only known to the democrats in some of the cities.

Just why the B. C. R. & N. railway people were so strongly for Larrabee I do not know, unless President Ives gave the real reason when he said it was because of the services rendered the company when the Postville divi-

sion was built through Clermont, the Larrabee home. Sherman had no record unfriendly to the railways or other corporations. But that President Ives was strongly for Larrabee was evidenced in several ways. A short time after the caucuses, Col. A. D. Collier, an attorney who was doing some general work for the company, showed me a note which read:

"Dear Colonel: If you cannot support Larrabee, GO SLOW on Sherman.
C. J. I."

Reference is made to Captain H. I. Smith. . . . He was working for a Sherman delegation on the afternoon of the Cedar Rapids caucus, but in the evening he sat with other railway men in support of Larrabee. The next day he showed me a note which he received. It read as follows: "Have all the men at the city hall tonight at 7 o'clock. C. J. I." They were there, regardless of politics.

In justice to Mr. Ives, whom I knew many years and respected most highly, he would never intentionally deprive the men under him of their political rights. They had nothing to fear from Mr. Ives, but they were afraid of some of their bosses.

Governor Gear introduced the letter writing plan into political campaigns, but Governor Larrabee had double discounted his efforts. There may be doubts about the checks, or some of them at least, but the letters went everywhere. It counted in Linn county. The country districts nearly all elected Larrabee delegates. In the county convention Henry Rickel was the Larrabee manager. He sought to get a committee to name the delegates and finally succeeded, but not without a big fight. Major William G. Thompson championed the Sherman cause and he made one of his characteristic speeches for the gallant old soldier of Benton county. The Sherman supporters played a neat game of deception. They placed one of their number in each county delegation, so that when Major Thompson opened his fight they could lead the cheering. The major was personally very popular. He shot his artillery in every direction and the fellows placed about the court room shouted their approval. This started others and Mr. Rickel not being well acquainted felt that defeat was possible, so the resolution of instructions were changed to one of commendation. The committee while composed of Larrabee men, felt it would not do to leave Major Thompson off the delegation when he was backed by the whole of Marion, so he was put on, expecting that he would be bound by instructions. But Major Thompson refused to be instructed. He told the convention that it could take its

choice, vote him off the delegation or leave him to vote as he pleased. In the state convention three of the Linn delegation voted for Sherman. . . .

The [state] convention was what might be expected after such a strenuous campaign. It was a fight to the finish. As everybody around the Cedar Rapids Republican were for Larrabee, except myself, I was left at home to get out the paper. This was one of two or three state conventions I have missed since 1875. The candidates for governor were Sherman, Larrabee, Frank T. Campbell, James Harlan and Senator Aaron Kimball of Howard county. The last two were not actively in the race, except as their friends voted for them. They hoped that a break might come which would defeat both the leaders. James Wilson of Tama county was temporary chairman and Col. John Y. Stone of Mills was temporary [*sic*. permanent?] chairman. That was before the state committee selected temporary chairmen in advance. On the informal ballot the vote stood, Sherman 416, Larrabee 368, Campbell 76, Harlan 142, Kimball 17.

There was little variation in the vote for eleven formal ballots. On the 12th ballot Sherman received 509, Larrabee 450, Campbell 21, Harlan 39. This left Sherman one vote short of a majority. There was much confusion and shouting, so the reports say, but finally Col. Henderson, on behalf of Larrabee's supporters, moved to make the nomination of Major Sherman unanimous, which carried.

There was a sharp contest for Lieutenant governor between Lafe Young and O. H. Manning, with two or three others receiving some votes. Manning was nominated. At a later convention he coined the expression, "A school house on every hill top and no saloon in the valley."

There probably never was a bunch of convention delegates, as well as thousands at home, who did more shouting and rejoicing than the Sherman boosters on that convention night. It was far in the fore part of the night when the nomination was made and it was after midnight when the convention adjourned. One of the Cedar Rapids men who went to Des Moines to boost, was Major M. A. Higley. He sent me the following telegram that night: "Sherman nominated Glory to God tell the boys. M. A. Higley."

Sherman had no party opposition and was elected by a good majority. His administration was marred by the John L. Brown episode, in which Sherman removed Brown from his office as auditor of state. At the next election republican affairs went too bad way [*sic*] so that when Sherman was in his last year of his second term, the party was casting about for an avail-

able candidate. I was then publishing the Walker News. In an editorial, before the convention interests were receiving much attention, mention was made of Senator Larrabee for governor, saying that he had the fitness and the availability. This coming to his attention he wrote a letter in which he said:

"I thank you most sincerely for your kind mention of me for governor. I am aware that under present political conditions a republican nomination in Iowa is no longer equivalent to an election, hence, republicans should be modest about asking nominations. If the republicans of Iowa should consider me both fitting and available, as you say, I would be most happily gratified."

[Iowa City Republican, Sept. 27, 1917.]

Trouble Brewing for the Republican Party

Hard luck is no name for the things which came to the Republican party in the later 80's. I recalled in a previous article that Mr. Larrabee wrote that modesty should govern candidates for governor, as a nomination was no longer equivalent to an election. While Mr. Larrabee was twice nominated and twice elected, in 1885 and again in 1887, yet it was in this period that things grew darker and darker for the party. There were jealousies in the congressional delegation. There was lack of unity among state officials. Nobody appeared as leader that could marshal the entire party on any one or any number of issues. Prohibition was playing its part, and other questions were jarring the foundations of the dominant party.

When Governor Larrabee began his first administration he was looked upon with suspicion by prohibitionists, for he had been against prohibition as senator for 16 years. The radical advocates of railway control mistrusted him, for his legislative record had not been in full accord with their views. But he set about his business with much care. He was attentive to details of state management, and it was while looking over a freight bill for coal shipped to a state institution that he detected what he considered an overcharge. Attention was called to this, and a controversy followed. Some have contended that the governor was so stubborn that he changed from a conservative to a radical on account of the attempt of the Burlington road to maintain what he considered was an unjust charge for a small shipment. But Governor Larrabee has given a better explanation. He frankly said that in his earlier legislative work he contended that competition and devel-

opment of railway business would bring about adjustments of methods of doing business, but later he learned that nothing but actual regulation would work out the needed reforms.

The people were feeling the injustice of railway discrimination. There was no uniformity of rates. Towns but a few miles apart had conditions so different that a business could be built up in the one and would be destroyed in the other. The railway agitation first was acute in the southwest part of the state. Col. A. R. Anderson was a leader in fighting the railways. He was then considered a demagogue. He contended that congress was the proper body to regulate freight rates. He became a candidate for congress against Col. Hepburn and was so affective [sic] that the state political managers became alarmed. I happened to visit the southwest part of the state when the Hepburn-Anderson contest was on. Returning home through Des Moines, I met one of the members of the Republican state committee and he asked me what I thought of the campaign in the eighth district. I told him that Anderson would be elected. He asked why. I told him that a man in Creston pointed out two cars of hogs ready to start for Chicago. "That first car," he said, "was loaded at Cromwell eight miles west of Creston. The other came over the branch line from St. Joe, ninety miles distant. The Cromwell farmers had to pay \$70 freight and the St. Joe car only \$30."

The committeeman said that was no reason why Anderson should be elected. I admitted as much but I told him that the prevalence of such discriminations was the issue in that district, and Anderson was offering relief. Anderson was elected, but only for one term.

Possibly I may have mentioned this before, but it fits in here. Capt. Rathbun of the Marion Register related once that he was in the Des Moines Register office visiting with Ret Clarkson and Senator Allison. This was at a time when Col. Anderson was beginning his agitation. Clarkson urged Allison to get an appointment for Col. Anderson, who was a decided populist and greenbacker in the bargain, in order to get him out of the way and where he could not make trouble. Senator Allison declined. He said that Anderson represented a condition, that if he was removed, somebody would take his place. The senator said that what was good in the Anderson proposals should be adopted and what was bad should be met in debate and in the press, so that the people could be educated in what was for the best. He said that while Anderson might win that year, he could not make his success permanent unless founded upon the right.

The railways were still bitter over the acts of the Granger legislature which enacted the passenger rate laws. Shippers were demanding relief from unfair rates, which demand so increased that political conventions took note and adopted resolutions vaguely favoring legislation. The result was a general assembly elected in 1885 that took cognizance of the situation.

The legislature of 1886 was divided into hostile camps with two railway programs, the result being nothing done. One of the leaders in supporting the measure advised by Gov. Larrabee was James G. Berryhill of Des Moines. He also voted with the more radical of the prohibitionists. Sometime during the first term of Gov. Larrabee a state convention was held in Des Moines, claiming to represent Republicans opposed to prohibition. It was not largely attended and did not command the support of any Republicans of standing. But it attracted attention, especially in Polk county, where the feeling was decidedly antagonistic to prohibition as administered by officers of the law. Opposition took definite form when a number of Des Moines Republicans met and decided to take independent action. The result was the announcement of A. B. Cummins as an independent candidate for representative. Later he was indorsed by the democrats and his name appeared upon their ballots, that being before the present form of ballot was adopted. The Cummins campaign was aimed at Mr. Berryhill, but when the election was over it was found that both Cummins and Berryhill were elected.

The Twenty Second general assembly was a notable body of men. Few legislative bodies have had its equal in able men, and the average was high. While there was still division among the members all were held to a certain extent by party declarations which had in effect indorsed the Larrabee plan for the regulation of freight rates. This in substance was to enact a law making the railway commission elective and then provided that the commission should put into force maximum freight rates. The session was an exciting one. The senate and house committees on railways prepared a bill which embodied the provisions of a number of bills which were introduced and this was reported to both houses. A minority fought the bill in every possible way, especially with amendments, but the majority stood firm and the bill was passed without any vote in the negative.

It would seem that when a body of men had put into law what the

people had been demanding, there would be no trouble for them in the future, but the men who were leaders in this legislation were the victims of attacks, aspersions, and misrepresentations, and many of them were retired to private life. They had angered the railway bosses and in those days that was dangerous business.

I was in Des Moines part of the time when this railway bill was under consideration. I had heard something of lobbies, but if anybody had told me that such an aggregation of men could be brought together to oppose legislation, I would have thought him a romancer. Every railway in the state had representatives there. The favored shippers and manufacturers were there. Elevator men by the dozen were telling the farmer members that the law proposed would decrease the price of grain. The purpose of such lobbyists is to create an honest doubt in a legislator's mind. Men were not bribed. That was not necessary for there were safer and easier ways to reach the members. While passes and mileage were abundant, they were not potential, for everybody had them. Iowa was a pioneer in railway legislation. The bills for railway control were passed by legislators with passes in their pockets and they were construed as constitutional by judges who rode upon passes. That is no defense for what was a bad policy, but it is truth nevertheless.

With railways defiant, with favored shippers losing their privileges, with anti-prohibitionists active, things were in fine condition for what happened in 1889, the election of Horace Boies governor of Iowa, the first and only democrat to fill the place after Hempstead in 1854.

The old B. C. R. & N. railway, an Iowa company with all its trackage in the state, was pointed out as the victim that was to be sacrificed. President Ives, as true a man as ever lived, had no doubt in his mind but that the fixing of rates by the commissioners on Iowa shipments would ruin his road. He prepared a statement which he read before the joint committees of the legislature, in which he set up the claim that the pending bill would bankrupt the road which he managed. This statement was published in the Des Moines newspapers at 20 cents a line each, according to an admission made by the Register when it undertook to explain why it gave pages to the railway hearings, and nothing practically to the shippers, that the railway hearings were run at full advertising rates. But when the railway commissioners made their classification of the railways according to mile earnings the B. C. R. & N. went in as Class C. The next year its earnings under the

commissioners' rates increased till it went into Class B, and in two more years it was Class A, with increased dividends and many improvements.

Governor Larrabee had appointed Frank T. Campbell of Newton; Spencer Smith of Council Bluffs, both earnest supporters of the governor's railway policies, and Peter A. Dey of Iowa City as the Democratic member of the board. When the office of commissioner became elective, the Republicans nominated Campbell and Smith and the Democrats nominated Dey. The shippers of the state indorsed these three. The third Republican candidate was John Mahin, editor of the Muscatine Journal, a man of ability and high standing, but the sentiment in favor of what was known as "the Larrabee board" was such that Campbell, Smith and Dey were elected. This made Mr. Dey the first democrat to fill a state elective office from 1854 to that time. Some writers have referred to Boies as the only Democrat who has held a state office since 1854, but in fact in addition to the two just mentioned, S. L. Bristow was elected lieutenant governor, L. G. Kinne was elected to the supreme court, and J. B. Knoefler was elected state superintendent of schools.

To paraphrase Garfield's famous New York remark, the Iowa railway laws still reign and the railways of Iowa still live.

[Iowa City Republican, Jan. 10, 1918.]

Republican Party Suffers Defeat — Boies Elected Governor

If the Republican leaders in 1889 had any misgivings as to party success that year, they gave no evidence of it in their convention activities. The cities were permitting saloons to run with little disturbance and liquors were sold illegally in all parts of the state. Nine-tenths of all the drug stores were more or less openly selling liquors. Many of them had only a small stock of drugs and wall paper to designate them as business houses instead of saloons. Even at the republican convention time the Savery hotel drug store had lines of men going through the form of signing certificates that the whiskey being bought was for medicinal purposes. Bell boys would go out and bring in beer and whiskey for any guests who ordered the beverages. In the county and district headquarters was to be found, in most cases, bath tubs stocked with ice and beer, and the night before the party declared for no backward step on liquor legislation and that prohibition had become the settled policy of the state, many delegates and officials were up till the small hours treating and drinking at hotel headquarters. With such

exhibitions of hypocrisy it is little wonder that defeat was in store for the party.

The contest for governor was between a number of men, with Senator Hutchinson, Capt. John A. T. Hull and Hiram Wheeler the leaders. Senator Hutchinson had been a member of the senate and had been active in securing . . . rate legislation. . . . Capt. Hull had been prominent in state politics and had strong backing. Wheeler was a big stock farmer in Sac county, and was then at the head of the state agricultural society. I was a delegate to this convention and was firmly of the opinion that the one who could stem the flood of opposition was Capt. Hull. He was not a radical and was a good campaigner, something then badly needed.

The nomination went to Senator J. G. Hutchinson of Ottumwa. He was a business man, being engaged in the wholesale grocery trade. He was a man of high standing, with especial fitness for a business governor. But he was not a good speaker, and his lack of tact and diplomacy was soon apparent. One of his first meetings was held at Manchester, where he was accompanied by Frank D. Jackson, afterwards governor. I attended the Manchester meeting at the request of a close friend of Senator Allison, to report on the way the address was received, as the Allison people were much alarmed over the danger of losing the legislature. The meeting was well attended and bordered upon enthusiasm. Manchester was a place inclined to prohibition. Senator Hutchinson made a short address, devoted to state affairs. On prohibition he said that when the people by a decisive majority, declared in favor of prohibition, it became the duty of the dominant party to carry out their wishes, which it had done by the enactment of the prohibitory law amendments and acts for enforcement. He declared that prohibition was no test of republicanism. Mr. Jackson, as he always does, gave a forceful and inspiring address. The next night they were at West Union, a place a little more inclined to be against prohibition. I did not hear this address, but Mr. Jackson said that he [Hutchinson] enlarged upon prohibition and became more aggressive.

The night following, the meeting was at Postville in Allamakee county, one of the most aggressively anti-prohibition communities in the state. The meeting was held in the Turn Verein hall. I happened to be going to St. Paul and was there that evening awaiting a train. The audience was composed largely of democrats and what republicans were present for the most part were Germans. If Senator Hutchinson had handled the liquor question

as he did at Manchester, he would have stirred up little or no opposition, but the spirit of antagonism seemed to catch him and he made not only a radical prohibition speech, but he undertook to warn his German audience against using beer. He told them about the great harm that came from indulgence in beer and other liquors, and he kept this up for a full half hour. Mr. Jackson tried to smooth things over, but that was not possible.

Under the Turner hall was a big bar and following the meeting this was crowded with men excitedly discussing the speech. Most of the talk was in German, and the language was ransacked to find words to express the disgust felt by those who had heard the Republican candidate for governor.

As a political campaigner Senator Hutchinson went from bad to worse. One of his last speeches before election was at Marion, Linn County. I was a member of the Republican county committee in that county at the time. Things had been moving along pretty well till the Marion meeting. The town was filled with republicans who were opposed to prohibition, but they were not organized and generally were supporting the ticket. I met Senator Hutchinson in Cedar Rapids in the afternoon before the meeting and he asked me to come to Marion early, as he wanted to talk about the meeting. When I met him he asked about what was best to say on the liquor question. I told him that if he would make the same kind of a talk at Marion that he made at Manchester, he would please the antis and all others. He said that was the advice that had been given by others, and that he was not intending to give over five minutes to the question. What was the surprise when the senator launched into an extended and radical prohibition tirade. Why he asked advice of several republicans who knew the local situation and then paid no attention to their advice, is one of these curious things that are explainable only in the understanding of the little understood workings of the human mind.

When the meeting was over, Mr. Johnson Brigham, then editor of the Cedar Rapids *Republican*, asked me how many votes the party would lose because of that meeting. I replied two hundred. Mr. Brigham said it would be double that number. The speech cost at least 500 votes and the election of a Republican representative, who was badly needed than to save Senator Allison from defeat.

The democratic candidate was Horace Boies of Waterloo. When it became known that he would accept the democratic nomination, no other candidate was afterwards suggested. Mr. Boies had never been especially

active in politics. He was a republican in earlier years and was a candidate for the republican congressional nomination in his district at one time, just what year I do not now remember. It was charged that disappointment over his failure to receive the nomination had caused him to leave the party, but the popular notion was that he had left the party on account of prohibition, which was not the fact, for when he began to show signs of discontent it was on the tariff question, not prohibition. He was a man of ability and a pleasing public speaker. He did not arouse the opposition especially of those who differed with him. He was a special pleader and his campaign was akin to his jury pleas which had then become famous. He put the republican party in Iowa on trial and he made the most of public prejudice.

It is not a fair statement to maintain that the prohibition issue alone elected Boies and defeated the republicans. The entire organized railway power of the state was for Boies. They were out to administer a rebuke to the Larrabee forces that then controlled the party and who were responsible for the enactment of the railway legislation of the previous session of the legislature. We had not gone far into the campaign until we found that every element of railway strength in Linn county, and it was powerful, was for Boies. One day I was sitting in the office of one of the officials of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern railway, when Geo. A. Goodell, then superintendent of the Iowa Falls division, came in and in a most enthusiastic manner declared that he had a report on every man on his division, and all but one was for Boies. He did not at first notice my presence, and when I made some remark, he offered no excuse but declared that all the men of the company were going to administer a rebuke to the Larrabee crowd.

An organization at that time known as the Farmers' Alliance was quite active. Its principal organizer was Newton B. Ashby, a son-in-law of Henry Wallace, then editor of the *Iowa Homestead*. He took an active part in the campaign, writing letters and sending out circulars. He opposed Senator Hutchinson on some frivolous grounds, relating to some of his votes in the senate. Ashby had been very active in sending out records of members of the legislature, especially a couple of years previously. The way they worked the scheme was to charge \$5 for compiling the record and then selling as many copies of the *Homestead* as possible to candidates. It was claimed at the time that Henry Wallace and Ashby, being free traders, were against Allison. The use of these records was generally

against republican candidates of the legislature. Mr. Wallace, however, told me later that he had nothing to do with the campaign, that it was entirely a matter operated by Ashby, and I have no doubt that he told the truth. At any rate it was a very unfair and unjust method of campaigning.

The result of the campaign was the election of Boies and republicans for state offices, except governor. The republicans controlled the senate and the house was a tie, with three republicans majority on joint ballot.

When the legislature met in January, 1890, there was more excitement and more politics than has ever been known in Iowa in three months' time. [Iowa City Republican, Jan. 24, 1918.]

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 40 new members during July, 51 during August. The following have become life members since June: Mrs. Matie Baily, Poca-hontas; Louise Cotnam, Las Vegas, New Mexico; O. W. Crowley, Des Moines; Mrs. Daisy Duckworth, Centerville; Alvin J. Ehrhardt, Elkader; Van B. Hayden, Keokuk; Albion R. King, Mount Vernon; Mrs. Jennie A. McMartin, Beaman; Dr. Robert E. Moyers, Ann Arbor, Michigan; William B. Poinsett, Dubuque; Leland L. Sage, Cedar Falls; Marion L. Shugart, Council Bluffs; Robert G. Smith, Des Moines; Waldo W. Braden, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Hugh S. Buffum, Cedar Falls; Edward J. Dahms, Cedar Rapids; Albert F. Dodge, Ames; Elizabeth A. Hunter, Iowa City; Ben C. Mueller, Davenport; Carl W. Petersen, Dubuque; Mrs. Alice B. Ritchie, Independence; Mrs. Bernard L. Swords, Burlington; John Tumelty, Keokuk; Mrs. Edith Barker, Ames; and David L. Redfield, San Francisco, California.

Members of the Society joined with members of the Chickasaw County Historical Society, Sunday, October 9, to observe the centennial of the Little Brown Church at Nashua.

The editors of the "Papers of Alexander Hamilton," to be published by the Columbia University Press, have asked the members of the Society to help them in locating letters to or from Alexander Hamilton. If any member knows of the whereabouts of such letters, they should communicate with Harold C. Syrett, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

August 8	Addressed Business Men's Club, Buffalo Center.
August 9	Addressed Luther College convocation, Decorah.
August 17	Attended State Plowing Match, Cherokee.
August 31	Attended State Day, Iowa State Fair, Des Moines.
September 25-27	Attended meeting of American Association for State and Local History, Williamsburg, Virginia.
October 3	Addressed Washington Rotary and Teachers, Washington, Iowa.
October 9	Address at centennial observances, Little Brown Church, Nashua.

Iowa Historical Activities

The Pocahontas County Historical Society has been reorganized, and

Miss Ann Goodchild of Havelock has been elected president. The meeting took place at the Old Settlers Picnic at Pocahontas, where representatives from each town in the county were registered by Mrs. Matie Baily. John T. Collins of Fonda, a grandson of the county's first white settler, spoke on conditions 100 years ago. F. C. Gilchrist and Charles Hawley, both of Laurens, also spoke. Miss Goodchild will select committees and officers for the society.

Roy Shaffer of Tama was re-elected president of the Tama County Historical Society at the April 2 meeting in Toledo. Other officers elected were Harold Hufford, vice-president; E. A. Benson, secretary-treasurer; and H. P. Giger, member of the board of trustees to succeed Wm. H. Malin.

The McGregor County Historical Society met May 23, the 151st anniversary of the birth of Alexander McGregor. Officers re-elected at the meeting were: Mrs. Lena Myers, president; Wilfred Logan, vice-president; Dorothy Huebsch, secretary and treasurer.

Msgr. M. M. Hoffman was re-elected president of the Dubuque County Historical Society at its May meeting. The Society is working on plans for a permanent home for the historical material it has collected. Plans were also discussed for a bronze marker honoring John Francis Rague, famous architect.

The Marshall County Historical Society has purchased the old Wetherbee school of Taylor Township and plans to move the building to the Central Iowa Fair Grounds, where it will be relocated and stocked with the stove, desks, chairs, and books used in earlier days.

Jack Belknap, treasurer of the newly organized Marion County Historical Society, has been appointed curator of the museum of Marion County antiquities. The Society has collected many valuable historical items for display.

At the annual meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society in May at Oskaloosa the following officers were elected: John H. Eveland, president; Jesse Mattix, vice-president; Miss Zola Kramme, secretary; Ed Butler, treasurer; and Mrs. Stillman Clark, historian. The Society has opened a museum in the former G. A. R. rooms in the courthouse at Oskaloosa.

The Wayne County Historical Society elected the following officers at their annual meeting on July 5: Amy Robertson, president; Mildred Fry,

vice-president; Harry Hibbs, treasurer; Warren Burton, secretary; Roy Grimes, curator; and Grant Kelley, Suzie Booth, Marjean Poston, Ortha Green, and Glen Greenlee, directors. The Society is sponsoring the collecting of histories of the towns and churches of Wayne County.

The Chickasaw County Historical Society has purchased the Van Gorder estate adjacent to the Little Brown Church at Nashua for an historical museum. The house and barn on the estate, opened to the public on June 5, have been stocked with historical articles.

Howard E. Todd was elected president of the Ringgold County Historical Society at the August meeting of that group. Other officers elected were Arthur Palmer, vice-president; Thelma Caryle, secretary; and Mrs. J. A. Bliss, treasurer.

At the June meeting of the Adair County Historical Society the following officers were elected: Mrs. Myra Brown, president; Elmer Johnson, secretary and treasurer.

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